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THE PLACE-NAMES OF
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HUNTINGDONSHIRE

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF
BEDFORDSHIRE &
HUNTINGDONSHIRE

By

A. MAWER *and* F. M. STENTON

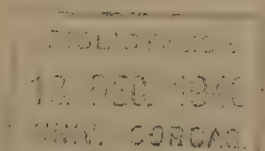
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PREFACE

WHEN in the early days of 1925 the editors were faced with the difficult task of selecting a county for treatment in their series of volumes, they were peculiarly fortunate in receiving a very generous offer from Dr G. H. Fowler, the founder of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, who has done more than anyone else for the publication of the early records of that county. He undertook to provide in the requisite slip-form, either through himself or his helpers, the early forms and identifications of all place-names documented in the volumes of the Record Society and in Feudal Aids in addition. Further he undertook himself to supply in similar form the wealth of material to be found in certain documents which he had himself transcribed, notably the Dunstable Cartulary and the Eyre Rolls for 1240 and 1247, both of which were at that time unpublished. With this solid foundation, consisting of all the fundamental material, the difficult task of completing a volume within a year at once became feasible. At the same time the editors realised that a volume on Bedfordshire alone would be considerably smaller than the average they had planned and unduly delay the progress of their great task. They therefore considered the possibility of associating some other county with it, and Huntingdonshire suggested itself as suitable in size and on historical and geographical grounds. The appointment of Miss E. G. Withycombe as secretary to the Director of the Survey made it possible, taken in combination with various other offers of help, to work through the remaining published documents for Beds and all for Hunts, and there only remained certain cardinal unpublished documents for the two counties alike. For this work there came the timely and generous help of the British Academy, which enabled us to secure the services of Miss Edith Scroggs, an old friend of the Society, in making excerpts from a few more Beds Eyre Rolls, several Hunts ones, the important Forest material for Hunts, many of the rich series of early Hunts Court Rolls, the Newnham Cartulary, packed with early Bedfordshire place-names, and to supplement Mr G. J. Turner's invaluable edition of the Huntingdonshire Feet of



Fines by a few field-names deliberately omitted from his edition.

Just when the editors were feeling that, though their task was a clear one and compassable within the time-limits imposed, the two counties might not provide very exciting fare in the nature of new discoveries there came a generous response from the Rev. Armitage Goodall (a name already well known to place-name students) to an invitation extended to him by the editors to let them publish certain most important discoveries he had made with reference to the early history of Huntingdonshire in his study of the Tribal Hidage.

When they decided to handle Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire they were fully cognisant that they were entering upon ground already worked by a master in these studies. The justification for writing a volume after the two written by the late Professor Skeat is twofold. In the first place Professor Skeat dealt with (roughly) 200 names in Beds and 150 in Hunts as against (roughly) 400 and 250 respectively in the present volume, quite apart from the field-names which figure in this one alone. In the second place, and this is in some ways even more important, a great deal of material has now been printed which was not accessible in his days, and he, working single-handed, could not be expected to explore the wealth of early unpublished material which the resources of the Survey have opened up. This last point links itself interestingly, though not unexpectedly, with the fact that where the editors differ from Professor Skeat in their interpretation of a name it is, in most cases, solely as a result of this new material at their disposal. Without it their conclusions would as a rule have coincided with his, and the careful and close study of his volumes entailed in the preparation of their own has only brought home more clearly to them than ever how great and able a pioneer he was.

We now turn to the pleasantest part of our task, and that is once more to record our indebtedness to the many who, either of their own accord, or in response to the invitation of the editors, have given their help. At the head we must place the names of Dr Fowler and Professor Ekwall. The former has been unwearying in the clearing-up of all points of detail referred to

him. To him we owe also the map of Bedfordshire which accompanies this volume. Professor Ekwall, as in all the previous work of the Society, has been fertile in suggestion, acute in criticism, and generous of time and labour.

Others we can but refer to in the alphabetical order of their names: Mr J. Hight Blundell for material for the history of Toddington drawn from his book on the history of that village and for other services.

The Rev. F. W. Breed for information with regard to Renhold and district.

Mr T. Candlin of Offord Cluny for detailed information with reference to the field-names of that parish.

Captain Cragg of Threckingham, Lincolnshire, for the use of the fragment of Anglo-Saxon MS recently discovered in his possession by Professor Stenton.

Mr O. G. S. Crawford for calling our attention to the important Fen Stanton charter not included in Birch or Kemble and first printed from the *Textus Roffensis* (c. 79) in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, New Series.

Mr Bruce Dickins of the University of Edinburgh for many valuable criticisms and suggestions and for the use of his Leicestershire collections.

Mr J. Steele Elliott of Dowles Manor, Bewdley, for much-valued information as to the local pronunciation of names in Bedfordshire and for securing the help in this matter of Mr H. Howkins of Cople. To the latter also our cordial thanks are due.

Mr F. G. Emmison, Clerk of the Records, for transcribing field and other names from the Bedfordshire County Council muniments.

The Rev. Canon C. W. Foster for the use of his transcripts from the Lincoln Registers setting forth the institutions to benefices in the diocese and for collating certain forms.

Mr R. C. Gardner of Conington Hall, Cambridge, for compiling a Gazetteer of all the names on the 1-in. O.S. map of Huntingdonshire with many useful topographical and other notes and for answers to enquiries put to him.

Mr J. T. Gundry for local information with regard to Huntingdonshire.

Mr C. F. Hardy for identification of places recorded in Ogilby's *Itinerarium Anglicanum*.

The Rev. W. H. Harrison for help in transcribing forms from the *Red Book of Thorney* in the University Library at Cambridge and also for some forms from the St Neots Cartulary.

Mr J. N. Heathcote of Conington Castle, Huntingdonshire, for placing at our disposal names and identifications of places to be found in Court Rolls of Conington in his possession and for untiring readiness in endeavouring to help the editors to understand the always difficult topography of a parish which consists largely of drained fen-land.

Mrs Levett for help in transcribing forms from the volumes of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society.

Miss K. M. Matthison for transcribing slips from various Huntingdonshire documents.

The Rev. Dr R. A. H. Murray, Rector of Broughton, and the farmers of his parish for information relating to the field-names of Broughton.

Mr H. E. Norris for the use of his unique collection of maps and books relating to Huntingdonshire. Unfortunately this collection only came to the notice of the editors as the volume was passing through the press and opportunities for making use of it were therefore limited by considerations of time and expense.

Mr Wm. Page, General Editor of the *Victoria County Histories* and, through him, his workers, for clearing up certain points of Huntingdonshire manorial history which offered difficulties and will be handled in full in the forthcoming *Victoria County History of Huntingdonshire*. The corresponding work on Bedfordshire was helpful at every turn in the work upon that county, and one learned only too fully to appreciate its value when one turned to Hunts for which there was no published volume.

The Rev. Edward Peake for much trouble in answering enquiries with reference to Bluntisham Parish.

The Rev. J. A. Ross for information with regard to early field-names in Holywell.

The President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford, for the loan of the place-name collections of the late W. H. Stevenson, bequeathed by him to the College. So far it has only been

possible to go through a part of them, but already in the present volume their usefulness begins to make itself apparent. In particular thanks are due to the College Librarian, Mr Austin Lane Poole, for his helpfulness in the whole matter.

Miss M. S. Serjeantson for transcribing the place-name material to be found in the Bedfordshire Charters in the Bodleian Library and for extracting from the transcripts of the Merton College Deeds made by the late W. H. Stevenson all relevant Bedfordshire material.

Mr C. C. Tebbutt of Bluntisham for valuable information with reference to Huntingdonshire topography and local pronunciations.

Miss Margaret White for help in transcribing forms from *Feudal Aids*.

Mrs Woods for transcription of forms from the *Red Book of Thorney*. It is with peculiar pleasure that we thus express our obligation to a daughter of the late Professor Skeat.

Professor R. E. Zachrisson for much time and trouble in helping to elucidate *cruces* presented to him. Our indebtedness to him is recorded in several places in the volume itself.

The officials of the Map-room at the British Museum for much-valued help in calling the attention of the editors to various early maps of the counties.

The County Organisers in general for their readiness in answering enquiries about comparative material, and to Mr J. E. B. Gover, Mr F. T. S. Houghton and Major J. de C. Laffan in particular for such offices in connexion with their collections for Devon, Worcestershire and Northamptonshire respectively.

The Director's secretary, Miss Withycombe, and Miss Scroggs, whose services were secured as noted above, the former for help given at every turn in the preparation of the volume, however monotonous and uninteresting the task may at times have been, and to Miss Scroggs for the results achieved during the four months that the Society was able to afford her services.

In response to certain happy suggestions made by Mr Bruce Dickins, Canon Foster, Professor Wyld and others, certain slight changes in the arrangement of the volume have been made as compared with that of the Buckinghamshire one.

Once again we have to record our thanks to Professors Ekwall and Tait for reading the proofs, with much profit to the volume. To their names have now to be added those of Mr Bruce Dickins of Edinburgh and Dr Fowler.

Finally we must record our obligations to the Cambridge Press for all their watchful care in the production of this as of all previous volumes of the Society's publications. It has done much to lighten our labours.

A. M.

F. M. S.

St Barnabas' Day, 1926.

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MAPS

Map of Bedfordshire	<i>In pocket at end</i>
Map of Huntingdonshire	”

INTRODUCTION

THE district covered by the present volume has a geographical rather than a historical unity. It is essentially the region traversed by the middle Ouse between its emergence from the uplands south of Yardley Chase and its subsidence into the level of the fens. To the south of this central region, the district includes the broken country between the Ridgmont-Amphill escarpment and the Dunstable Downs. On the north it is bounded by the Nen between Elton and Peterborough. But the valleys of the Ouse and its tributaries determine its general character. It is a country in low relief, which can have presented few obstacles to the migration of peoples in early times.

In fact, the intermingling of different racial elements gives a peculiar character to the Anglo-Saxon archaeology of this region. The large burial ground at Kempston, for instance, yielded objects which prove the intermingling of Saxon and Anglian cultures in the Ouse valley before the end of the sixth century. Further to the east, the early burial grounds of Cambridgeshire have produced evidence pointing to a similar complexity of culture. Its historical significance is a very important, but most difficult, question. It is still uncertain whether this intermingling is due to the occupation of early Saxon sites by later Anglian settlers or to the eastward drift of Saxon objects into Anglian territory along the line of early travel known as the Icknield Way or even, as has recently been suggested, to the penetration of this region by Saxon settlers entering England by the Wash. The solution of this central problem will only begin to appear when the evidence derived from the historical, geographical, and archaeological aspects of the problem has been brought into coherent relationship. In the meantime, it may be suggested that the place-names of the region with which this book is concerned, and in particular the place-names of south Bedfordshire, deserve to be taken into account in any interpretation of the archaeological or historical evidence.

The recorded history of the region begins with the annal for 571 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It relates that a certain

Cuthwulf fought in that year with the Britons at *Bedcanford* and took four towns named *Lygeanburg*, *Aegelesburg*, *Baenesingtun*, and *Egonesham*. The appearance of this entry in a West Saxon set of annals, and the fact that the name Cuthwulf alliterates with the other personal-names used at this time in the West Saxon royal house, prove that the annal is describing a West Saxon conquest. There can be no doubt about the identification of the last three place-names mentioned in the annal with the modern Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eynsham. The forms given later in this volume are sufficient to establish the identification of the *Lygeanburg* of the Chronicle with the modern Limbury in south Bedfordshire. It is therefore evident that if the tradition preserved in the annal may be trusted, the West Saxons conquered at this time all the country north of the Chilterns between the Thames and the headwaters of the Lea. The traces of Saxon culture in the burial grounds of south Bedfordshire thus receive a simple historical explanation.

It is unfortunate that no suggestion can at present be offered bearing on the identification of the place named *Bedcanford*, where the battle of 571 was fought. The arguments against the long established identification with Bedford, an identification apparently first made by the historian Aethelweard in the tenth century, are set out later in the volume. The general course of West Saxon history in this age suggests that the battle was fought in the district to the east of the middle Thames, but nothing more definite can be said at present. The rejection of an ancient identification without the suggestion of something better is a thankless work, but it carries an important historical consequence in the present case. With the abandonment of the Bedford identification there disappears the only reason for believing that the West Saxons reached the Ouse valley in the sixth century. Limbury, the most northerly point of their recorded occupation, is separated from the Ouse by nearly twenty miles of varied country. The occupation of the district round the sources of the Lea does not in any way imply the occupation of the valley of the middle Ouse, and one serious complication is thus removed from the discussion of the remarkable objects found in the Kempston burial ground.

The general character of Bedfordshire place-names does not

suggest that the settlement of the county began before 571. The names Pillinge near Wootton and Kitchen (End) near Pulloxhill may well have arisen before the end of the sixth century. Knotting, in the north of the county, which almost certainly arose in this century, belongs in all probability to the Anglian settlement of uncertain but early date which produced Yelling and Gidding in Huntingdonshire, Kettering and Billing in Northamptonshire. Moreover, the detailed study of Bedfordshire place-names will probably create the impression that the settlement of this county was appreciably later than that of Buckinghamshire. In the latter county, Oving, Wing, and Halling, the obscure but certainly archaic Kimble, the traces of ancient personal nomenclature preserved in Mursley, Missenden, Haversham, and Mentmore, are only part of a body of evidence pointing to early settlement which is much more considerable than anything to be derived from the place-names of Bedfordshire. It may, indeed, be said that place-names which suggest early settlement seem to decrease in passing from Oxfordshire through Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire, and to increase in passing from Bedfordshire through Cambridgeshire into Suffolk. It is, no doubt, true that the impression produced by a large number of names should not be accepted without reservation. Some of the Bedfordshire place-names which present no features suggesting high antiquity may still in fact have arisen at an early date. It can only be said that if the settlement of Bedfordshire began before the date assigned to the battle of *Bedcanford* by West Saxon tradition, the first settlers have left remarkably little trace upon the place-names of the county.

A late origin for this nomenclature is also suggested by the appearance of features which must have been very gradually developed. The large number of names ending in OE *hoh*, 'hill-spur,' sharply distinguishes the local nomenclature of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire from that of the adjacent counties. The prevalence of these names appears on a brief glance at the Ordnance map, though many ancient names originally of this type have now disappeared and many others have become disguised by the influence of common pronunciation upon spelling. The frequency of these names in the small area covered by this book is one of the most curious

features of the local nomenclature of the midlands. Its historical significance is that it gives a hint as to the length of the period over which the gradual settlement of this region extended. These names must come from a time when the invaders had been long enough in occupation of the country to have developed habits of their own in regard to local nomenclature. And one may be sure that local habits of this kind did not arise in less than a century from the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon settlement in this part of England.

The actual date of this settlement will always remain uncertain. The contribution which place-name study can make towards its establishment can only be indirect. But it may at least be said that the place-names of Bedfordshire, regarded as historical evidence, agree very well with the conclusions which are generally drawn from other forms of enquiry. The little that is known of the early history of the southern midlands suggests that two separate lines of invasion, the Saxon movement from the south-west and the Anglian movement from the north-east, met in what is now Bedfordshire. Place-name study cannot yield any definite evidence directly bearing upon this suggestion until it has become possible to identify particular types of name as characteristic of Saxon or Anglian settlement. When in the course of time the personal-names compounded in the place-names of the different parts of England have been subjected to a closer analysis than is at present possible, definite criteria of Saxon or Anglian settlement may begin to appear. But on the broader question whether the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Bedfordshire belongs to the earlier or later phase of the migration, the place-names of the county give valuable information. The extreme rarity of types of name which are known to be early, the undistinguished character of the local nomenclature, regarded as a whole, go far to prove that the county was not settled until the original energy of the invasion had spent itself. The place-names of Bedfordshire suggest the very gradual settlement of a tract of country rather than its rapid occupation by a large body of invaders. The inference naturally drawn from the Chronicle that the settlement of the south of the county was first made possible by Cuthwulf's victory of 571 agrees remarkably with the character of its local nomenclature.

It is highly probable that the settlement of Huntingdonshire was earlier than that of Bedfordshire. It is a small county, and woodland in the west and fen in the east must have limited very narrowly the land which was attractive to early settlers. Nevertheless, a very archaic element is apparent in its local nomenclature. It is remarkable that so small an area in the midlands should include four such ancient names as Gidding, Yelling, Lymage, and Wintringham. For historical purposes, the latter is one of the most useful names in the county. It occurs again as the name of a village in a fold of the Yorkshire Wolds, near the Derwent, and as the name of a village in Lindsey on the Humber. Both these sites must have been occupied at a very early date, and the Lincolnshire Winteringham may well represent a settlement founded by the earliest Anglian invaders. The occurrence of this name in Huntingdonshire therefore suggests a very early date for the settlement of this district, and confirms the probability suggested by its later history, that its original settlers were Angles.

Even more suggestive of early settlement is the name Earith, borne by a village at the point where the Ouse definitely enters the great tract of the Fens. The first element of this name can safely be identified with an OE word *ēar*, cognate with the ON *aurr*. Its exact meaning is uncertain, for in OE literature it only occurs as the name of one of the letters of the runic alphabet in a somewhat vague passage in the *Runic Poem*. Whether it means mud, or as Scandinavian parallels would suggest, gravel, it certainly denoted in the present case the first landing place available to travellers coming up the Ouse. The fact that the name of this landing place contains a word never found in strictly literary sources suggests that it arose at a very early date. The suggestion is confirmed by the fact that a duplicate of the name is found in Erith, Kent, upon the Thames, in a region which was probably settled in the fifth century. It would be unwise to assume that the Huntingdonshire name is as early as this, but it certainly agrees well with the other archaic names which distinguish the local nomenclature of this county.

In regard to one important matter the local nomenclature of Bedfordshire agrees with that of Huntingdonshire. The

extreme rarity in either county of names which contain a Celtic element would of itself suggest that the Britons had disappeared from the Ouse valley some time before the end of the sixth century. Reasons are given below for believing that a Celtic element underlies the difficult name of Lattenbury Hill in Huntingdonshire, where the Ouse begins to enter the great level of the Fens, and the no less difficult name of Kempston in Bedfordshire, where a sixth century Anglo-Saxon settlement is certain on archaeological grounds. But these names stand almost alone. Place-names give no support to the theory, in itself improbable, of a long-continued British survival in the Fens. No name of any Romano-British road station has survived, in however mutilated a form, in the two counties. On the borders of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire Magio-vintum has become Fenny Stratford, and the name of the Romano-British settlement which once existed at Sandy has vanished. In Huntingdonshire, Durolipons on the Ouse and Durobrivae on the Nen were renamed by Anglian settlers as *Godmundes ceaster* (Godmanchester) and *Deormundes ceaster*. Only the names of streams and rivers, and place-names such as Campton, Yelden, and Hail Weston, in which river-names are compounded, remain to prove the former existence of a British-speaking people in these shires.

Recent work has made it possible to recover something of the administrative geography of this region in the time before the counties of Bedford and Huntingdon were created. The counties themselves are of late origin. They are first mentioned by name in the year 1011, and each of them probably represents the district occupied by one of the Danish armies among which the southern Danelaw was divided before its conquest by Edward the Elder. The little that is known of the earlier divisions of this district comes from the enigmatical record now commonly known as the Tribal Hidage. Among many obscure names, three can now be definitely associated with the region with which this book is concerned. The three hundred families who formed the folk whose name appears in the genitive plural as *Gifla* were certainly inhabitants of the district of the Bedfordshire river Ivel. Mr Goodall has shown that the name of Hurstingstone Hundred preserves the folk-name which

appears in the Tribal Hidage in corrupt forms such as *Herefinna*, *Hersinna*, *Herstinna*. He has also established a connexion between the difficult folk-name *Sweord ora*, which comes next in order in the Tribal Hidage, and Sword Point, the name of a low promontory on the edge of Whittlesey Mere. As only three hundred families are assigned to the latter folk, it may have been confined to the north of the modern Huntingdonshire. But the *Hyrstingas* of Hurstingstone were twelve hundred families strong, and it is probable that their territory extended into the present Northamptonshire for some distance towards the west.

It is more remarkable that the Scandinavian invasion of the ninth century, which in many ways affected the history of these counties, has left little trace upon their local nomenclature. Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire form with Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire a wide tract of country in which a Danish settlement, which must have been considerable, had little influence upon the forms of existing place-names or the creation of new ones. That all these counties formed part of the Danelaw, in the legal sense of this term, is certain. They are all definitely assigned to it in records of the early twelfth century, when the differences between the law of the Saxons, Mercians, and Danes were matters of immediate practical importance. Nevertheless, it would never have been inferred from the place-names of any of these counties that they had once undergone a Danish settlement sufficient to change the whole customary law which prevailed within them. In Bedfordshire, Clipstone certainly contains a Scandinavian personal-name, Stagsden and Renhold may possibly do so. Otherwise the Scandinavian element in the surviving place-names of this county is confined to a small group of local names of late origin found in Sharnbrook. In this connexion it should be observed that the ninth century boundary between Danes and English, which as defined by Alfred and Guthrum ran straight from the source of the Lea to Bedford, has no significance in regard to the local nomenclature of the county. Clipstone lies well on the English side of this boundary.

In Huntingdonshire, the Danish element is more apparent. It occurs in the names of two Hundreds, Normancross and

Toseland. Of these the latter is especially significant, for, unlike Clipstone, it consists of a Scandinavian word preceded by a Scandinavian personal name. It has the further interest that it may well preserve the name of the Danish earl Toglos who perished in the wars which ended in the conquest of this region by Edward the Elder. Scandinavian personal-names appear again in Keystone and Sibthorpe, the latter, like Toseland, is a name in which both elements are Scandinavian, and the Scandinavian *Kaupmaðr* occurs in Coppington. The detailed study of the medieval field-names of the county certainly reveals many traces of Scandinavian influence which do not appear upon the modern map. In the perambulation of the king's demesne woods of Weybridge in 1227, the boundary passes through a place called *Kingstorth*¹, a name which undoubtedly contains the ON *storð*, 'wood,' common in forest-names in the northern Danelaw, but not otherwise found in Huntingdonshire. But it is probable that a minuter examination of Huntingdonshire field-names than is at present possible would only confirm the impression produced by the English character of surviving place-names, though it would doubtless produce interesting illustrations of the Anglo-Scandinavian personal nomenclature which had arisen in the wider Danelaw by the early Middle Ages.

The feudal names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire are neither numerous nor distinctive. They are fewer, and on the whole of later origin, than the names of this class preserved in Buckinghamshire. Offord Cluny recalls the gift of an estate in this village made to the great abbey of Cluny by Arnulf de Hesdin before the date of the Domesday Survey. It is probable that the families of Longueville and Waterville were already established in the two villages which Domesday describes under the single name of *Ovretune*. Most of the remaining names belong to the thirteenth century rather than to the eleventh or twelfth, and the terminal *ing* of Westoning, which curiously disguises the name of William Inge, chief justice of the King's Bench in 1316-7, cannot have been annexed to the name of his manor of Weston before the reign of Edward II. It is unfortunate that the surname *Bussard*, which already in the thirteenth

¹ Rot. Litt. Claus. II, 209.

century was commonly appended to the name of the ancient royal manor of Leighton, still remains an unsolved problem.

Although the present volume deals with a region in which the great abbeys of the fen-land received early and large endowments, it has not derived a great store of pre-Conquest forms from their muniments. Most if not all of them were founded or refounded after the Danish wars of the tenth century, and obtained a considerable part of their property by purchase from men of moderate estate. Acquisitions made in this way were not confirmed by solemn diplomas with elaborate boundary clauses in English. Instruments of this kind were more appropriate to the conditions which prevailed in the south, where estates were more compact, and the royal power was more effective. In the Danelaw, the testimony of a hundred or group of hundreds and the proffer of sureties by the vendor were often considered sufficient security for the transfer of considerable estates, and a brief memorandum of the transaction made for the convenience of the new owner might well be the only written record of the proceedings. As such memoranda had little legal value, there was no need for them to be preserved with care when the new owner had become secured in possession by the passage of time, and there was even less reason why they should be transcribed into cartularies at a later date with the literal fidelity naturally demanded by formal, royal charters. It was therefore natural that when the monks of Ely and Ramsey wished to compile a record of the history of their respective houses, they were content to work the ancient memoranda which they possessed into a consecutive narrative without troubling to reproduce either the form of these documents or the Old English spellings of the place-names which occurred in them. The *Liber Eliensis* and the *Historia Ramesiensis* are more valuable as illustrations of social and legal history than is always recognised, but they have not the same importance as sources of Old English name forms.

For the rest, the materials used in the preparation of this volume are similar to those available for Buckinghamshire. The Domesday forms of place-names in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire contain few downright errors of the kind which complicated work in the latter county. Assize Rolls have proved

invaluable once more. There is no unpublished cartulary relating to these counties so long or so important as that of Missenden, but the cartularies of Warden and St Neots have preserved important twelfth century documents in thirteenth century copies, and the cartulary of Newnham, written in the fifteenth century, has been especially useful for early forms of Bedfordshire field-names. As in Buckinghamshire, the interval between 1086 and 1200 has produced comparatively little material. But it would not be right to close this introduction without referring to the fortunate chance which brought to the notice of the editors the fragment of an original tenth century memorandum relating to the property acquired by bishop Aethelwold of Winchester in the district bordering on Whittlesey Mere. It is unhappily brief and badly mutilated, but through the courtesy of its possessor the editors are for once able to include in a volume forms derived from a pre-Conquest text which still remains unpublished.

NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE AS ILLUSTRATED BY THEIR PLACE-NAMES

OE *æ* appears normally as [æ] in modern names: *Halsey, Hatley, Hatch, Apsley, Gladley* in Beds. All these show ME forms in *a* except *Gladley*, but its etymology is doubtful (*infra* 124). Hunts has *Glatton* and *Haddon*, with one *e*-form for *Glatton*.

ME *a* has undergone characteristic lengthening to [a'] in the local pron. of such names as *Astwick, Astey, Aspley Guise, Salford*, and *Caldecote* in Northill.

OE *a* (Anglian) before *ld* is lengthened and then rounded to [o'], as in *Harrold* and *Wold* in Odell. So also *Old Hurst* and *Old Weston* and *Bromswold*. The one exception to this development is *Weald* in Eynesbury Hardwicke, where, from early times, we have a long run of *Weld-* forms going back to WS *weald*, side by side with the normal *wold-* ones. The explanation is possibly that in this royal forest area a non-local form established itself.

ME *a* for the *i*-mutation of OE *a* before a nasal is an East Saxon peculiarity with certain westward extensions (cf. Heuser, *Alt-London* 37, and Jordan, *ME Grammatik* 53). Heuser (40) noted certain unidentified examples in Bedfordshire. These may now be confirmed and extended. Cf. also Zachrisson in *Englische Studien*, LIX, 349. *Fancott* in Toddington in the south-west of the county and *Dane End* in Hyde in the south-east are clear examples. It has not prevailed in *Henlow* in the east of the county, but it has affected the early forms and it may explain some of the forms of *Hinwick* if that name contains OE *henn*. Examples of *dane* for *dene* have been noted in field-names in Biggleswade and Totternhoe, while *fan* for *fen* has been noted in Beeston, Ampthill, Flitton. There is no trace of this sound-development in Hunts, though there are very many examples of *fen*-names. *Tempsford* and *Kempston* with *æ* before *m* show long hesitation between *a*- and *e*-forms, while Bletsoe in which *æ* comes before *ch* always has *e*, except for one form.

Anglian æ for WS *ie* before *l* followed by a consonant is found in the early forms of *Wansford* and a lost *Wallpool* in Hunts. In the numerous examples of *wielle* (Angl. *wælle*) as the second element in a compound, the normal *well*-form is always found, except possibly in *Broadall's* District in Ramsey. These examples suggest that this dialectal feature, first fully studied by Ekwall in *Contributions to the History of the OE Dialects*, 40 ff., may have extended farther east than he makes it. It is difficult to explain the series of *Walm*-forms for *Wansford*, as against one *Welm*-form, on the ground of the influence of the verb *wallen*, 'boil,' as is done on p. 57 of Ekwall's paper.

In the **treatment of OE *æ*** it is difficult to reach any conclusions with regard to the development of WS *stræt*, Angl. *strēt*. There are three examples on the eastern side of Bedfordshire. *Stratford* has only one early form, and that in *Strat*-, *Stratton* at first (with one exception, of somewhat remote provenance) has *Strat*-forms, then *Stret*-forms begin to appear but ultimately give place to *Strat*-. We must also note the interesting *Straittun* in a 12th cent. charter of definitely local provenance. *Streatley*, on the other hand, has *æ* in a Saxon charter and shows *a*- and *e*-forms from the earliest times. On the whole it would seem that the influence of ME *strete* as an independent word has tended to oust the *Strat*-forms which are the native ones. **East Saxon *ā* for *æ*** is clearly found in names containing *mæd* as shown by the early forms of *Shortmead* (only one *mede*-form) and Wootton *Broadmead*. In *Bushmead* forms in *mede* and *made* are about equally common. In field-names *mede* and *made* are used indifferently. In *Whipsnade*, forms in *sne**de* and *snade* (from *snæd*) are about equally common. *Wrest* has more *a*- than *e*-forms, but the latter ultimately prevail as they do also in *Slepe*.

There is a **tendency to unround OE *o* to ME *a***, but the process is carried to completion only in *Clapham* and *Gadsey* Brook though various spellings bear witness to it in *Clophill*, *Stotfold*, *Toft*, *Totternhoe*, *Cogswell* in Beds. *Bolnhurst* and *Colworth* show *a* for *o* in early forms but the process is not carried so far as in the other names.

In *Chicksands* and *Sandy* we have a long struggle between *a*- and *o*-forms before *nd* and *o*-forms have prevailed in *Stondon*. So also *le sondes* in Elton (1300).

OE *u* appears as *e* before point-consonants in *Denel* End, *Dedmansey* and *Seddington* in Beds and in the *Deddington*-forms which preceded the present *Diddington* in Hunts. This is not, strictly speaking, a dialectal feature, as can be seen in the further examples quoted under these names in the text. It is noted here as the phenomenon does not seem hitherto to have been observed. The process was probably hastened by the presence of initial *d* or *s* before the vowel.

OE *y* normally appears as *i* in both counties alike. The only exceptions are *Luton* and possibly *Runley* in Luton (the etymology is obscure), where after some hesitation the *u*-forms prevail, and *Pedley* in Clophill, for which unfortunately we have only one early form and that a *u*-one and then the modern form in *e*. *Husborne* Crawley is difficult. The only OE form has *y*, all the ME forms show *u* with but two exceptions. Some process of analogy or folk-etymology would seem to have been at work here.

Taking the rest of the names in Beds and working up from the south *Bidwell* in Houghton Regis in early forms always has *u* except for one *e*. *i* is a late development. *Limbury* shows one or two *u*-forms. *Tilsworth* shows *i*- and *u*-forms, very rarely *e*-forms. *Shillington* on the east side of the county has *e*-, *u*- and *i*-forms equally commonly at first, but the *u*-forms disappear in the middle of the 14th cent. *Lidlington* has *u*- and *i*-forms, *e*-forms only very rarely. No *u*-forms after 1358. The influence of the independent word *little* has probably affected the history of this name. *Millbrook* on the west of the county agrees with *Milow* on the east in showing early forms in *e* and *u*. Those in *i* are comparatively late. The common word *mill* has certainly had its influence here. The lost *Kinwick* in Sandy shows *e* and *i*, never *u*, and the same is true of *Stevington* on the west side of the county, but with regard to this last name Professor Zachrisson points out that even in *Stewkley* (Bk) we never get *u*-forms, still less in *Stukeley* (Hu). *Biddenham* shows occasional *u*- and *e*-forms, usually *i*.

Passing into Huntingdonshire *Dillington* shows an *e* in DB, one *u*-form and then *e*- and *i*-forms which exist side by side till the 16th cent. *Kimbolton* has only *i*- and *e*-forms. The latter have not been noted after 1260, but here as in *Kinwick* the natural tendency would be to raise *e* to *i* before *n*. *Brington*

has *e* in DB and then always *i*, except for a single *u*-form. The *Giddings* show regular *e* till the middle of the 13th cent. when *i* first appears and, by the middle of the 16th cent., ousts *e*. *Needingworth* shows hesitation between *e*- and *i*-forms. The former, with lengthening of the vowel, ultimately prevailed. This is on the eastern edge of the county. *Pidley* shows *i*-, *u*- and occasional *e*-forms. *Stibbington* in the north-west of the county has *e*- and *i*-forms, never *u*.

Bury, *hurst*, *hill* and *herne* can only be used satisfactorily in considering questions of dialect when they bear the stress. *Bury* (Hu) regularly has *i* in all its early forms. *Hurstingstone* has *e*-, *u*- and *i*-forms to begin with but the *e*-forms soon disappear. *Herne* in Ramsey has only *e*- and *i*-forms. The regular form for *hyll* in Beds is *hull* in ME, though this has now always given place to *hill*. Only once, however, do we get this in the 13th cent. In all other cases it is of much later date. *Hilton* in Hunts, on the other hand, shows only one *u*-form.

OE *eo* has become *i* and *e* respectively in *Chibley* in Shillington and in *Tebworth*. The former shows occasional forms in *u*. Possibly also *Hulsterdene* in Northill from OE *heolstor*.

OE *ēo* has given certain forms in *iu* and *u* in the early history of *Flitt*, *Flitton* and *Flitwick*, *Girtford* in Beds and once in *Fletton* (Hu). Note also *Dupedel* in Sandy (12th). Much more common are forms in *e*.

In the treatment of initial *c* there is considerable fluctuation. The numerous *Caldecotes* in both counties always show initial *c* in all their forms. Compounds of OE *ceald* (Anglian *cald*) with *wielle* yield *Chadwell* End in Pertenhall, but *Cauldwell* in Bedford. Among minor names we have *Chaldewelle* in Houghton Regis (1225), in Beeston (13th), *Chadewelle* in Stotfold (13th), *Cheldewell* in Stilton (1241) and *Chaldewelle* and *Coldewelle* alike in Odell in 1367, *Caudewelle* in Bythorn (1248). Other compounds with Anglian *cald* are found in *Caldelane* in Ridgmont (13th), *Caldemowe* in Warboys (1251). OE *cealf* (Angl. *calf*) yields *Chawston* in Beds together with minor names *Chalfhamstede* in Eaton Socon (1359), *Chaluescrofte* (13th) in Roxton, but we have *Calfhale* in Sharnbrook (13th), *Calvescroft* in Clophill (1273) in Beds and *Calpher* in Hunts, together

with *Calurecroft* in Ripton (1252). Of compounds with *cealc* we have *Chalgrave* (Beds) and *Chalpet* in Ellington (1279). *ceaster* appears uniformly as *Chester* in our counties. Noteworthy is the fact that *Chesterton* (Hu) is only two miles from *Castor* (Nth), just across the Nen¹.

The inflexional *n* of the suffix of the weak form of the adj. has survived in *Newnham*, *Sharpenhoe* and *Whitnoe* in Beds and would probably have remained in *Langnoe* if that name had survived. *Water Newton* in Hunts does not show it. In field-names we have *Druyenhull* (1461) and *Drynehull* (1519) in Beeston, *Dryenholm* in Caldecote in 1331

¹ Stevenson MSS.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbr	<i>Placitorum Abbreviatio</i> , 1811.
AC	<i>Ancient Charters</i> (Pipe Roll Soc.), 1888.
AD	<i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i> . (In progress.)
AD	Ancient Deeds (unpublished) in PRO.
AN	Anglo-Norman.
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> .
Ashby	Cartulary of Ashby Canons Priory (taken by courtesy of Dr G. H. Fowler from MS in possession of Colonel Orlebar of Hinwick ¹).
Ass	Assize (or Eyre) Rolls for 1202, 1227, 1240 (BHRS ed.).
Ass	Assize (or Eyre) Rolls (unpublished) for Beds for 1247, 1276, 1287, 1307, for Hunts for 1227, 1260, 1286, 1314.
Award	Enclosure Award.
B	Bryant, <i>Map of the County of Bedford</i> , 1826.
BCS	Birch, <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , 3 vols., 1885-93.
Berks	Berkshire.
BHRS	<i>Bedfordshire Historical Records Society</i> . (In progress.)
Bk	Buckinghamshire.
BM	<i>Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum</i> , 2 vols., 1900-12.
Bodl	Bodleian Charters. (The abbreviation for the county is added after <i>Bodl</i> .)
Bowen	Emmanuel Bowen, <i>The Large English Atlas</i> , c. 1750.
Bract	<i>Bracton's Note-book</i> , 1887.
BT	Bosworth-Toller, <i>Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> , 1882-98.
C	Cambridgeshire.
Cai	<i>Admissions to Gonville and Caius College</i> , ed. Venn, 1887.
Cary	Cary, <i>English Atlas</i> , 1787.
Ch	Cheshire
Ch	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i> . (In progress.)
ChancP	<i>Chancery Proceedings in the reign of Elizabeth</i> , 3 vols., 1827-32.
Chanc Roll	Variant readings from Chancellor's copy of Pipe Rolls as noted in Pipe Roll Society's volumes.
ChR	<i>Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum</i> , 1803.
Chron Rams	<i>Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis</i> (Rolls Series), 1886.
Chron St Alb	<i>Chronica monasterii S. Albani</i> (Rolls Series), 1853-76.
Cl	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> . (In progress.)
CIR	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum</i> , 2 vols., 1833-44.
Co	Cornwall.
Cor Reg	<i>Coram Rege Rolls</i> .
Coroner	<i>Coroners' Rolls</i> (Selden Soc. vol. 9), 1896.
Cott	Cotton Charters in the British Museum.
Cragg	MS of Captain W. A. Cragg, Threckingham, Lincs.
Crawf	<i>Crawford Charters</i> , ed. Napier and Stevenson, 1895.
CS	Clerical Subsidies (BHRS i, 27-61).
Ct	Court Rolls (unpublished) in BM, PRO and in private possession.
Cu	Cumberland.
Cur	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i> . (In progress.)

¹ Now in Brit. Mus. (Egerton 3033).

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Cur(P)	<i>Three Rolls of the King's Court</i> (Pipe Roll Soc.), 1891. <i>A Roll of the King's Court</i> (ib.), 1900.
D	Devon.
D	<i>Letters and State Papers Domestic</i> , 12 vols., 1856-72.
Dan	Danish.
D and C Linc	Dean and Chapter of Lincoln MSS.
Darton	Wm. Darton, <i>English Atlas</i> , 1822.
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i>
Db	Derbyshire.
Do	Dorset.
Du	Durham.
Dugd	Dugdale, <i>Monasticon</i> , 6 vols. in 8, 1817-30.
Dunst	<i>Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia</i> (Rolls Series).
Dunst	Dunstable Cartulary (Harl. 1885).
EDD	<i>English Dialect Dictionary</i> .
EDG	Wright, <i>English Dialect Grammar</i> , 1905.
EME	Early Middle English.
EPN	<i>Chief Elements in English Place-names</i> , 1923.
Ess	Essex.
FA	<i>Feudal Aids</i> , 6 vols., 1899-1920.
Fees	<i>Book of Fees</i> , 2 vols., 1922-3.
FF	Feet of Fines for Beds from BHRS vi, for Hunts, as ed. by G. J. Turner for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
FF	Unpublished Feet of Fines.
Fine	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i> . (In progress.)
For	<i>Select Pleas of the Forest</i> (Selden Soc., vol. 13), 1901.
For	Pleas of the Forest (unpublished).
Forssner	<i>Continental Germanic Personal Names in England</i> , 1914.
Förstermann	<i>Altdeutsches Namenbuch, Personennamen</i> (PN), <i>Ortsnamen</i> (ON), 2 vols. in 3, 1901-16.
Fr	French
G	Greenwood, <i>Map of the County of Huntingdon</i> , 1831.
Gaimar	<i>Lestorie des Engles</i> (Rolls Series), 2 vols., 1889-90.
Germ	German.
Gerv	<i>Gervasius Cantuariensis</i> (Rolls Series), 2 vols., 1879-80.
Gest St Alb	<i>Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani</i> (Rolls Series), 3 vols., 1867-9.
Gilb	<i>Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses</i> (Lincoln Rec. Soc.),
Gl	Gloucestershire.
Ha	Hampshire.
HarlCh	Harleian Charters in the BM.
Harrold	Harrold Cartulary (Lansdowne MSS 391).
He	Herefordshire.
Herts	Hertfordshire.
HH	<i>Henrici Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum</i> (Rolls Series), 1879.
Higden	<i>Polychronicon</i> (Rolls Series), 9 vols., 1865-86.
Hist El	<i>Historia Eliensis</i> , ed. Stewart, 1848.
HMC	<i>Historical MSS Commission Reports</i> . (In progress.)
Inq aqd	<i>Inquisitiones ad quod damnum</i> , 1803.
Inq El	<i>Inquisitio Eliensis</i> , ed. Hamilton, 1876.
Inv	<i>Edwardian Inventories for Bedfordshire</i> (Alcuin Club), 1905.
Ipm	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem</i> . (In progress.)
IpmR	<i>Inquisitiones post mortem</i> (Record Commission), 4 vols., 1806-28.

IPN	<i>Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names</i> , 1923.
J	Jefferys, <i>Map of the County of Huntingdon</i> , 1768.
Jury	Jury Lists (BHRS iv, 61-255).
K	Kent.
KCD	Kemble, <i>Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici</i> , 6 vols., 1839-48.
KF	Knights Fees for Beds, 1303 (PRO).
KS	Knight Service (BHRS ii, 245-63).
L	Lincolnshire.
La	Lancashire.
Lei	Leicestershire.
LGerm	Low German
Linc	Lincoln Episcopal Registers.
LP	<i>Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic</i> . (In progress.)
LS	<i>Subsidy collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526</i> (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 1909.
	Lay subsidy (1220), (BHRS ii, 225-38).
LVD	<i>Liber Vitae Dunelmensis</i> (Surtees Soc.), 1841.
Lysons	<i>Magna Britannia</i> , vol. i, 1806.
ME	Middle English.
Merton	Merton College Deeds, transcribed by W. H. Stevenson.
Misc	<i>Calendar of Inquisition Miscellaneous</i> , 2 vols., 1916.
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i> .
Mon	Monmouthshire.
Nb	Northumberland.
NED	<i>New English Dictionary</i> .
Newn	Newnham Cartulary (Harl. 3656).
Nf	Norfolk.
NI	<i>Nonarum Inquisitiones</i> , 1807.
NLC	<i>Newington Longueville Charters</i> (Oxfordshire Rec. Soc.), 1922.
NoB	<i>Namn och Bygd</i> .
Norw	Norwegian.
NQ	<i>Bedfordshire Notes and Queries</i> , 3 vols., 1886-93.
Nt	Nottinghamshire.
Nth	Northamptonshire.
O	Early ed. of O.S. maps.
O	Oxfordshire.
ODan	Old Danish.
OE	Old English.
OFr	Old French.
Ogilby	Ogilby, <i>Itinerarium Anglicanum</i> , 1675.
OHG	Old High German.
ON	Old Norse.
Ord	<i>Orderici Vitalis Hist. Eccl.</i> , 5 vols., 1838-55.
Orig	<i>Originalia Rolls</i> , 2 vols. 1805-10.
O.S.	Ordnance Survey.
OSwed	Old Swedish.
(p)	Place-name form derived from pers. name.
P	<i>Pipe Rolls</i> (Pipe Roll Soc. eds. in progress and, for Beds, BHRS, vii).
P	Pipe Rolls (unpublished).
Pat	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> . (In progress.)
p.n.	place-name.
PRO	Public Record Office.
QW	<i>Placita de quo Warranto</i> , 1818.

- R Rutland.
 Rams *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia* (Rolls Series),
 3 vols., 1884.
 RBE *Red Book of the Exchequer*, 3 vols., 1896.
 Redin *Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, 1915.
 Reg Dun *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis libellus* (Surtees Soc.),
 1835.
 RG *Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester* (Rolls Series),
 2 vols., 1887.
 RH *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 2 vols., 1812-18.
 Ritter *Vermischte Beiträge zur Englischen Sprachgeschichte*,
 1922.
 Rot Dom *Rotuli de Dominabus* (Pipe Roll Soc.), 1913.
 RW Roger of Wendover in *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series),
 3 vols., 1890.
 s.a. sub anno.
 Sa Shropshire.
 St Neot *Cartulary of St Neots* (Cotton Faust A iv).
 St P *The Domesday of St Paul's* (Camden Soc.), 1858.
 Saxton *Saxton, Map of the County of Huntingdon*, 1576.
 Scand Scandinavian.
 Searle *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, 1897.
 Selden Selden Soc. Publications. (In progress.)
 Sf Suffolk.
 Smith Smith, *English Atlas*, 1804.
 So Somerset.
 Speed *Map of the County of Huntingdon*, 1610.
 Sr Surrey.
 SR Exchequer Subsidies for Beds (1297), for Hunts (1303,
 1327), unpublished.
 St Staffordshire.
 Stevenson MSS Collections bequeathed to St John's College, Oxford,
 by W. H. Stevenson.
 Strip Strip-maps of Beds parishes (or copies of same), *pen*.
 Dr G. H. Fowler.
 Swed Swedish.
 Sx Sussex.
 Tax *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 1802.
 Templars Feodary of the Templars (Exch. K. R. Misc. Books,
 Series 1, vol. ii).
 Terr Terrier.
 Thorney *Cartularium et Registrum Coenobii Thorneyensis* (Camb.
 Univ. Lib.).
 Thorpe *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici*, 1865.
 TRE Tempore Regis Edwardi.
 TRW Tempore Regis Willelmi.
 VCH *Victoria County Histories of England*. (When no further
 ref. is added the ref. is to the *History of Bedfordshire*,
 3 vols. and Index, 1904-14.)
 VCH Material for the forthcoming VCH for Hunts (*ex inf.* the
 General Editor).
 VE *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 6 vols., 1810-34.
 W Wiltshire.
 Wa Warwickshire.
 Warden Warden Cartulary (John Rylands Library).

We	Westmoreland.
Wells L	<i>Lib. Antiq. temp Hugonis Wells</i> (ed. Gibbons), 1888.
Whet	<i>Registrum abbacie Joh. Whethamstede</i> (Rolls Ser.), 1872.
Winton	Winchester Episcopal Registers.
WMP	<i>Wm. Malmesburiensis Gesta Pontificum</i> (Rolls Series), 1870.
Wt	Isle of Wight.
Y	Yorkshire.

Reference is made to the various county place-name books already published (*v.* summary bibliography in *Chief Elements of English Place-names*) by using the abbreviation PN followed by the recognised abbreviation for the county, *e.g.* PN Gl for Baddeley's *Place-names of Gloucestershire*.

PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTION OF PRONUNCIATION OF PLACE-NAMES

p	<i>pay</i>	z	<i>zone</i>	r	<i>run</i>	e	<i>red</i>
b	<i>bay</i>	ʃ	<i>shone</i>	l	<i>land</i>	ei	<i>flay</i>
t	<i>tea</i>	ʒ	<i>azure</i>	tʃ	<i>church</i>	ɛː	<i>there</i>
d	<i>day</i>	θ	<i>thin</i>	dʒ	<i>judge</i>	i	<i>pit</i>
k	<i>key</i>	ð	<i>then</i>	ɑː	<i>father</i>	iː	<i>feel</i>
g	<i>go</i>	j	<i>you</i>	au	<i>cow</i>	ou	<i>low</i>
ʌ	<i>when</i>	χ	<i>loch</i>	ai	<i>fly</i>	u	<i>good</i>
w	<i>win</i>	h	<i>his</i>	æ	<i>cab</i>	uː	<i>rule</i>
f	<i>foe</i>	m	<i>man</i>	ɔ	<i>pot</i>	ʌ	<i>much</i>
v	<i>vote</i>	n	<i>no</i>	ɔː	<i>saw</i>	ə	<i>over</i>
s	<i>say</i>	ŋ	<i>sing</i>	oi	<i>oil</i>	əː	<i>bird</i>

Examples:

Harwich [hæridʒ], Shrewsbury [ʃrouzbəri, ʃruːzbəri],
Beaulieu (bjʊːli).

NOTES

(i) The names are arranged topographically according to the Hundreds working approximately from the north-west to the south-east of the county. Within each Hundred the parishes are dealt with in alphabetical order and within each parish the place-names are arranged similarly. The only exceptions to this rule are that river- and road-names are taken at the beginning as also the place-names in Bedford town itself, while Kensworth, once in Herts, is taken at the very end.

(ii) After the name of every parish will be found the reference to the sheet and square of the 1-in. O.S. map (Popular Edition) on which it may be found. Thus, **Alwalton** 74 A 10.

(iii) Where a place-name is only found on the 6-in. O.S. map this is indicated by putting (6'') after it in brackets, e.g. **The Green** (6'').

(iv) The local pronunciation of the place-name is given, wherever it is of interest, in phonetic script within squared brackets, e.g. **Astey** [a'sti]. Where the old spellings indicate a local pronunciation which cannot now be traced but which must have prevailed at an earlier stage in the history of the name, that pronunciation is given in phonetic script as in the case of the other names, but it is preceded by the word *olim*, e.g. **Oakley**, *olim* [ɔkli].

(v) In explaining the various place-names summary reference is made to the detailed account of such elements as are found in it and are explained in the *Chief Elements of English Place-names* by printing those elements in Clarendon type, e.g. **Milton**, *v. middel*, **tun**.

(vi) In the case of all forms for which reference has been made to unprinted authorities, that fact is indicated by printing the reference to the authority in italic instead of ordinary type, e.g. *Ass* 1287 denotes a form derived from MS authority in contrast to *FA* 1284 which denotes one taken from a printed text.

(vii) Where two dates are given, e.g. 979 (12th), the first is the date at which the document purports to have been composed, the second is that of the date of the copy which has come down to us.

(viii) Where a letter in an early place-name form is placed within brackets, forms with and without that letter are found, e.g. *Sto(c)kton* means that forms *Stockton* and *Stokton* are alike found.

(ix) All OE words are quoted in their West-Saxon form unless otherwise stated.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

TO VOLUMES I & II

In this list the editors have confined themselves for the most part to points in which the volumes as issued contain statements which stand definitely in need of correction. Conditions of space have compelled them to omit reference to a good deal of comparative and other material which has since come to hand or been brought to their notice. In making these additions and corrections they are indebted to a number of friendly critics, including Mr Arthur Bonner, Mr Bruce Dickins, Professor E. V. Gordon, Dr G. B. Grundy, Mr F. T. S. Houghton, Mr O. Schram, and Professor Zachrisson.

VOL. I, PART I¹

- p. 101, l. 16, delete '*Sister*,'
- p. 119, ll. 21-24, delete ', and in this connection... Old English times'
- p. 122, ll. 4-6, 15-17, delete the references to Peperharow and Blo' Norton.
- p. 131, l. 12, insert 'Hugh de Gunville, 1233'
- p. 131, l. 20 from bottom, read 'Shillyngeston John Eskelling, 1226 FF' and for footnote 5 read '1444 (Ancient Indictments).'
- p. 132, l. 22, add
'Tuz Seinzton Lucas de Tuz Seinz, 1242 Towsington (in Exminster)'
- p. 146, l. 12 from bottom, for 'the only example' read 'almost the only certain example'
- p. 149, l. 20 from bottom, read 'Oxenhoath'
- p. 152, s.n. *tunsteall*, I. Ancient. omit 'Bosworth-Toller... occurs there.' and re-number the sub-paragraphs.

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- p. viii, l. 17 from bottom, read 'Cambridge, 1901.'
- p. 3, l. 6, for 'glossed as' read 'glossing'
- p. 4, l. 9 from bottom, insert 'Little' before 'Barford'
- p. 14, l. 18, add Hanscombe (Beds)
- p. 17, l. 12 from bottom, for 'Hockley' read '*Hocheleia*, the DB form of Hockliffe'
- p. 19, l. 6, cran. Mr Bruce Dickins and Mr W. L. Orgill both suggest that in some cases the word *crane* may have its common dialectal significance of 'heron.' The crane was never common except in marshy places.
- p. 25, l. 20 from bottom, read 'sandy or gravelly bank, or beach, or spit of land' in place of 'sandbank'
- p. 26, l. 20, for 'Farcett (Ha)' read 'Farcet (Hu)'
- p. 26, l. 21. From the Stevenson MSS we may quote the apt passage

¹ One or two of the corrections to Part I have already been made in a second imprint of this volume.

found in *Pauli Diaconi Historia Langobardorum* (i, c. 26), 'Egressi quoque Langobardi de Rugiland habitaverunt in campis patentibus, qui sermone barbarico "feld" appellantur.'

- p. 27, l. 2 from bottom, for 'Harvington' read 'Harvington-on-Avon'
- p. 28, l. 3, for 'fox-hole, ME' read 'fox-hol, OE'
- p. 30, ll. 8-10, read 'The substantival use of this word to denote a "grassy spot," "village green" belongs to post-Conquest times.'
- ib. l. 5 from bottom, for 'Licky' read 'Lickey'
- p. 33, l. 20 from bottom, read 'found as *honger*, *hunger* in ME'
- ib. l. 4 from bottom, read 'Harrock (La)'
- p. 34, l. 12 from bottom, *healh*. Mr Bruce Dickins calls attention to the passage in Simeon of Durham (ii. 53) in which we have the phrase *Hearrahalch, quod interpretari potest locus Dominorum* which suggests that we ought not perhaps always to press for too precise a meaning for *healh*.
- p. 35, l. 19, read 'Harrowden (Nth)'
- p. 38, l. 3 from bottom, delete 'It seems to be unknown in England South of the Thames.'
- p. 40, l. 15 from bottom, read 'Monyhull (Wo)'
- p. 46, l. 7, add here the reference to Reginald of Durham's *nemus paci donatum* given in *PN Beds Hunts*.
- p. 46, l. 14, for 'grass-land' read 'hay-land'
- ib. l. 19, insert 'wiele' after 'weg'
- p. 47, l. 10, read 'Monyhull (Wo)'
- p. 49, l. 12, read 'Lapal (Wo)'
- p. 50, l. 10. The word is on record in OE itself, v. *geryd* in BT supplement.
- p. 53, l. 9 from bottom, for 'slá(h)' read 'sla(h)'
- p. 54, delete ll. 1 and 2.
- p. 56, l. 3, delete 'Oxted (Sr),' It belongs properly to p. 55, l. 6 from bottom. Insert there 'Oxted (Sr) from ac'
- p. 56, l. 15 from bottom, *stoc*. Mr Bruce Dickins calls attention to the gloss upon Woodstock (O) in Simeon of Durham (ii. 267), '*Wdestoc, quod Latine dicitur Silvarum Locus*.'
- p. 58, l. 5 from bottom, read 'Ede Way (Beds)'
- p. 61, l. 3, *treo*. Mr Bruce Dickins suggests that in some cases the sense may be 'cross,' cf. *Croes Oswallt*, the Welsh name of Oswestry.
- p. 61, l. 12, delete 'Trundle Mere (C)'
- p. 63, l. 6, read '*sceap-wæsse*'

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- p. 2, l. 18 from bottom, read '*Ciltern*'
- p. 17, l. 16, insert [bret|li]
- p. 20, foot. 'The early forms of Loughton (Ess), 1062 (15th) KCD 813 *Lukintone*, DB *Lochintona*, *Lochetona* make it probable that this name has the same history.'
- p. 22, l. 13, for 'Ickwell (Mx)' read 'Ickwell (Beds)'
- p. 27, l. 15. Wolferton (Nf) and Wolverton (Wo) show the same fluctuations of form.
- p. 52, l. 19, for '*stocc*' read '*stoc*'
- p. 83, l. 6, delete the reference to Souldrop (Beds).
- p. 106, l. 7, for 'Littlecote below' read 'Littleworth *supra*'
- p. 125, l. 4 from bottom, read 'Illington'
- p. 130, l. 12. The name *Wyrnhere* is on record in OE in *Widsith* 130.
- p. 171, note 1. Mr F. T. S. Houghton makes the very probable suggestion that *Hrisbyri* is to be identified with Risbury (He).

- p. 189, 'RASSLER WOOD. Cf. Ratsloe in Huxham (D), 1249 FF *Radeslo*,'
- p. 189, l. 12. Mr F. T. S. Houghton points out that the ground in Cofton Hackett (Wo) in BCS 455 is where the keuper marls come up against the Lickey Ridge and that the ground here would certainly be a red mire in its primitive condition.
- p. 190, l. 16 from bottom. For the suggested form *medemanhame* an exact parallel is found in the Hampstead Charter of 986 (11th), O.S. Facs, iii, no. 36, to *medeman hamstede*.
- p. 191, s.n. *Marlins Grove*. All reference to *Marlingford* should be deleted as the earliest forms of this name make it probable that the true form is *Marding-* or *Marðing-*.
- p. 207, l. 1, for '*supra*' read '*supra et infra*'
- p. 223, l. 3, for '*Misbourne*' read '*Chess*'
- p. 250, ll. 20, 21. *Lauerkestoke* and Adstock should be under stoc rather than stocc.
- p. 251, l. 17, insert 'xv, xvi.' after 'Introd.'
- ib. l. 28, insert 'xvi.' after 'Introd.'
- p. 266, col. 1, l. 6, for '56' read '55'
- p. 272, col. 1, delete the reference to *Ellington (Nf)*.
- p. 272, col. 2, for '*Ickwell (Mx)*' read '*Ickwell (Beds)*'
- ib. insert '*Illington (Nf)*, 125'
- p. 273, delete the reference to *Marlingford (Nf)* and to *Souldrop (Beds)*
- ib. for '*Medmeuy*' read '*Medmeney (Sx)*'
- p. 274, col. 1, insert '*Willey (Sr)*, 85'

ADDENDA

TO VOLUME III

p. 1, AKEMAN STREET. Professor Ekwall points out that the term *Fosse streat* is applied in BCS 1257 to the Roman road west of Bath, near Clifton, and that in BCS 922 we have the phrase *per stratam publicam que ab antiquis stret nunc fos nuncupatur* used of the Fosse Way near Brokenborough (W) in its Bath-Cirencester stretch. It is clear, therefore, that even in early times the Roman road must have been called *Fos(se)* both east and west of Bath and that Akeman Street can only be an alternative name for the stretch east of Bath. He also points out that if the OE pers. name which lies behind Akeman is *Acemann* we should have expected ME *Okeman*. That is the case, but it is possible that one might also have had *Åkeman* with trisyllabic shortening also. Such shortening is perhaps suggested in the *Alkemannestrete* form given above, where *lk* is clearly an error for *kk*. We have no precise knowledge of any local pronunciation of the road-name, though it may be noted that there are maps which print the name as *Ackman*. The modern pronunciation with a long vowel may therefore be purely an antiquarian convention.

He also adds a further reference to this road from the Beaulieu Cartulary (90 b, 91 a) where the name *Ak'manestret*, *Akermannestret* is used of this road near Shilton (O) and, of much greater interest, calls attention to the use in the Westminster Charter of Edward Confessor, printed in Armitage Robinson's *Gilbert Crispin* (168), of *Akemannestrete* as the name of an unidentified road in London, south of Watling Street (i.e. Oxford Street) and leading to Charing (i.e. Charing Cross). This is a striking example of an early un-historical extension of the name unless we take this to be the beginning of the great western road which ultimately leads once more to Bath.

From the Stevenson MSS we may note a reference to the Akeman Street, near Piddington (O) and Ludgershall (Bk) found in the *Cartulary of St Frideswide* (ii. 97), *Akemannestrete* c. 1294.

p. 4, ICKNIELD WAY. From the Stevenson MSS we may note the following additional references. In a Bedfordshire Fine of 1209 (cf. BHRS vi. 39) the road is called *Ikenild via*. In the Close Rolls (1274) we have mention of an acre of land 'at Hykenhilte' referring to the road near Steeple Morden (C) and of interest as a further example of the use of the name of the road with no addition of *via*, *strete* or the like. In RH (ii. 445 a) we have also a reference to it near Fulbourn and Babraham (C). Stevenson also notes the use of the name *Ekenelde-wey* of an entirely different road in 1371 (Cl) where it applies to the old road from Winchester to Marlborough, near Barton Stacey (Ha).

Mr Schram calls our attention to the use of the term *regia strata vocata Ykenildesthrete* of a road in Dersingham (Nf), which may throw light on the obscure question of the course of the Icknield Way after Thetford.

p. 5, WATLING STREET. To the examples of the extended use of this name we may add *Watlyngstrete* (Pat 1433) used of the road from Ferrybridge to Worksop (Stevenson MSS).

p. 21, YELDEN. Professor Ekwall suggests alternatively that Yelden may be from OE *Gifla-denu*, the valley of the *Gifle*, the name of the settlers of the whole district. (Cf. Introduction xviii and 94 *infra*.)

p. 22, CLAPHAM. Professor Ekwall points out that Skeat is hardly justified in rendering the Middle Danish *klop*, which he apparently took from Kalkar's

dictionary, as 'stub, stump.' Kalkar, quoting from an earlier MS dictionary, renders it *klods*, i.e. 'block, lump.'

p. 44. Professor Ekwall calls attention to the survival of *Stachesby* as Stakesby Hall near Whitby and considers that here as in the neighbouring Staxton we have ODan *Staki*. The survival as *Stakesby* is definitely against using that name as evidence for ON *Stakkr* in England, provided that the modern spelling represents the true pronunciation.

p. 70, ELSTOW. Professor Zachrisson in the *Anglo-Norman Influence etc.* p. 147, suggested that this was really *ellen-stow*, 'alder-tree site,' and explained the *aun-* forms as AN spellings. The possibility of such a compound, of which, up to the present, no example had been noted, is shown by the name *apuldorstow* in the boundaries of Ottery in an unpublished Saxon charter communicated to the editors by Mrs Rose-Troup.

p. 103, DUNTON. The early forms perhaps point to an alternative form *Duninga-tun*, 'farm of the hill-dwellers,' v. *ingatun*.

p. 176, l. 14. The actual reading in the text of DB, or rather in an interlineation in the text, is *castellum in Pechefers*. This has often been taken for Peak Forest, but *fers* is an impossible form for such an interpretation. Peak's Arse is an old name for Peak Cavern and *Pechefers* may well be an error for *Pechesers*. The castle is *supra* rather than *in* Pechesers, but one need not perhaps press the meaning of an interlineation too closely.

p. 186, FLETON. The *fleet* is apparently referred to in a perambulation of 1578 (Hunts NQ iii. 387) where we have mention of a piece of land called the 'Fleete.' Similarly, in the Enclosure Award we have a piece of land called 'the fleets' (*ex inf.* Mr H. E. Norris).

p. 188, CHALDERBEACH. Mr H. E. Norris suggests that the 'diver-birds' were Great Crested Grebes, which used to breed there.

p. 194, BOTOLPH BRIDGE. Mr Bruce Dickins calls attention to the fact that the original dedication of the church here was to St Botolph (Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, iii. 58) and that he was the patron-saint of wayfarers.

p. 204, l. 4. Mr H. E. Norris points out that the identification of the Abbot's Chair and the Hurstingstone was already made by Brayley in 1808. He adds the further interesting point that the stone can be identified as one coming from quarries at Barnack (Nth).

p. 216, GREAT WHYTE. Mr H. E. Norris reminds us that the streets called Great and Little Whyte are built over the beds of two streams which, until 1854, were open, with houses on their banks. Their line does not seem to have been an altogether straight one. Before he was aware of the original topography of this place Professor Ekwall suggested the possibility of an OE **wiht*, a derivative of OE *wican*, 'to move, to yield.' Such a term might perhaps be used of a bend in a stream.

p. 217, WORLICK. The most probable suggestion is that of Mr Bruce Dickins, that the first element is the pers. name *Wulfric*, cf. Worlaby (L), DB *Vluricebi*.

p. 221, BROADWAY. Mr H. E. Norris points out that the identification is by no means certain for this street was first made in 1888 on the site of the old Bullock Market.

p. 222, NEW SLEPE HALL. On the topographical side Mr H. E. Norris points out that this house took the place of Old Slepe Hall at the east end of the town, pulled down in 1848.

p. 226, WARBOYS. Professor Ekwall takes the late Lat. *boscus* to be a Latinisation of OFr *bois*, which was borrowed from some Germanic language in medieval times. The *busc(e)* forms here cited he would take to be loan-words from OScaud *buskr*, *buski* or possibly from a lost OE cognate *busc*.

p. 255, EYNESBURY. For the rare OE name *Einulf*, Dr Armitage Robinson has called our attention to the p.n. *Aynolfisfrith*, in the Glastonbury district, found in Abbot Monington's *Secretum* 129b. He also notes the name *Enulf* borne by a discipulus who signs a charter of King Edgar (BCS 1270). This may stand for either *Eanulf* or *Einulf*.

p. 263, PAXTON. Gorham (*History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neots*, Appendix, p. xxiii) quotes from the St Neots Cartulary the phrase *land at Paxebroc* which seems to refer to a brook in Paxton.

p. 265, ST NEOTS. The town takes its name from the obscure saint named Neot whose relics were translated to this place in the late 10th century. It is natural to suppose that he is identical with the Cornish saint of that name.

p. 292, brade. Professor Ekwall calls attention to the field-names *Berebrede*, *Dambrede*, *Milnebrede*, *Yapesbrede*, *Langebocbrede* found in the Ely Register, f. 115, and used of land in Ditton (C). This suggests that the term is specially an East Anglian one.

p. 294, heolstor. Owing to the rarity of the representation of OE *eo* by ME *u* in Beds (*v.* Introduction, xxvi), Professor Ekwall would prefer to take the first element in this name as OE *hulfestre*, 'plover.' This may well be right.

p. 296, weg. As parallels to *Thefwey* we may note *peofa-ford* (KCD 611) and *Thefstighe*, nr. Newstead (Nt), *Monasticon*, vi. 474. (Stevenson MSS.)

BEDFORDSHIRE & HUNTINGDONSHIRE

BEDFORDSHIRE

Bedanfordscir 1011 E (c. 1200) ASC, 1016 D (11th) ib.

Beadafordscir 1016 E (c. 1200) ASC

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

Huntandunscir 1011 E (c. 1200) ASC, 1016 ib.

Huntadunscir 1011 C (11th) ASC, 1016 D (11th) ib.

Huntedunscir 1011 D (11th) ASC

For the origin of the names of the counties *v.* Introd.

BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE ROAD-NAMES

AKEMAN STREET

Alkemannestrete (sic) *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 434¹

Akemanestrete c. 1260 Rec. of Bucks xi. 343-8

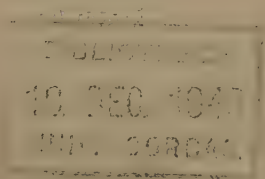
Akemanstret 1291, 1461 ib.

Akemannestrete 1311 BM

This is the name now commonly given to that Roman road which branches off from the Foss at Cirencester and carries the Bath-Cirencester road to Alchester in Oxfordshire and on to Tring. In the Bucks references the name is used, as Dr G. H. Fowler has shown (*loc. cit.*), of the Icknield Way, on which Akeman Street converges south-east of Aylesbury and with which it is identical for a mile west of Tring. In the last reference it is used of the same road in Totternhoe parish. The names of the two roads have clearly been confused.

It is certain that in explanation of this name we must associate it with the old names for Bath itself, *Acemannes ceastre* (973 A), *Acemannes beri* (972 F) in ASC. There is no evidence that the continuation of Akeman Street from Cirencester to Bath, which is now known as the Foss Way, bore this name in ancient times. Before the Conquest the name *Fos* (BCS 229, KCD 620) is only known to have been applied to what is now called the Foss Way north-east of Cirencester, and it may well be that the first stretch,

¹ Stevenson MSS. Bounds of Wychwood Forest (O).



from Bath to Cirencester, was in Old English times called *Ācemannes-stræt* from the fact that it came from *Ācemannes-ceaster*, the old name for Bath. With reference to the ultimate history of these two names allusion must be made to the excerpts from the early 12th cent. *Annales de ecclesiis et regnis Anglorum* (Cott. Vitell. C viii), printed by Liebermann in *Ungedrückte anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen* (19), which asserts that *Akemannesceastre* was so called from a certain *Akemannus*. The late W. H. Stevenson (*Academy*, April 30, 1887) was inclined to accept the truth of this explanation. It should be added that there is good evidence for OE names in *Āc*-. *Ācwulf* must lie behind Occleston (Ch), DB *Aculvestune*, and the name *Aceman* is on actual record in the mid 12th cent. (Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, 249). The name *Āca* which lies behind Aketon (Sf), *Acantun* BCS 1289, is further evidence for such.

On this theory it may be assumed that the great road leading out of Bath came to be called after one *Aceman*, the Saxon into whose possession the ruins of Bath passed, and that the name of the road, in the fashion to be noted later under other road-names, came to be used of the road from Bath throughout its whole length.

The Roman road from Cambridge to Littleport is also sometimes known as Akeman Street (Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, 165). This is probably an unhistorical extension of the name, similar to that noted under Ermine Street, Icknield Way and Watling Street.

ERMINE STREET

Earninga stræt 955 (c. 1200) BCS 909, 957 BCS 1003, 1002
(12th) Proc Soc Antiq (Second Ser.) ii. 49

Ermingestrete c. 1090 (c. 1230) Laws of William 1, c. 1400
Higden

Erningestrete c. 1230 HH, c. 1300 RG

Arningstrat 1251 Ch¹

Arnygestrate Hy 3 HMC Rutland iv¹

The clue to the interpretation of this name was discovered independently by the Rev. A. Goodall and each of the editors.

¹ Stevenson MSS.

Mr Goodall points out that it must be associated with Arrington and Armingford Hundred in Cambridgeshire. Arrington is on Ermine Street, just north of the Cam, and its early forms are *Ærningetune*, *Erningetone* (PN C 15). Armingford Hundred is a Hundred chiefly on the south side of the Cam, which includes the parishes of East Hatley, Tadlow, Croydon, Clopton, Wendy, Shingay, the Mordens, Abington, Litlington, Whaddon, Melbourn, Meldreth, Kneesworth, and Bassingbourn. These parishes form a half-circle round the ford which must once have carried Ermine Street across the Cam, and there can be no doubt that the old name of the ford was *Earningaford* or, as given in BCS 1265, 1266 and 1267 respectively, *Ærningaford*, *Earningaford*, *Earnigaford*. The natural inference from this is that what is now the name of the whole road from London to Lincoln was originally given to that stretch of it which ran through land settled by the *Earningas*, i.e. by *Earn* and his people, and that later, as in the case of Watling Street *infra*, the term was given a wider extension and applied to the whole of the Roman road. In the references to Anglo-Saxon charters given above, the name is used of Ermine Street at Conington (Hu), just before it crosses the Nen to the west of Peterborough, and by Fen Stanton. In the Laws of William the Conqueror it is named as one of the four roads in England which were subject to a special peace safeguarded by heavy penalties, and it is clear that the wider application had already developed. It may be added that in the Charter Roll reference it is used of the road as it passes through Royston (Herts) and in the Rutland MSS as it passes through Papworth (C).

From the peculiar legal privileges of special peace protecting travellers on these roads and their general importance arose the habit, further illustrated under *Watling Street* and the *Icknield Way*, of naming other important roads after them. This habit is commonly ascribed to late antiquarian usage, but there is ample evidence that in some cases it goes back to much earlier times. There is an Irmine Street now used as the name of the Roman road from Gloucester to Silchester. Already as early as the *Polychronicon* we have Higden using the term *Ermingestrete* in his enumeration of the four great roads of Britain, not of Ermine Street as we now commonly know it, but of a road from

St Davids to Southampton, clearly, in part at least, the Gloucester-Silchester road just mentioned. There is also an Irmine Street (part of Stane Street) on Leatherhead Downs (Codrington, *Roman Roads*, 55). v. Addenda.

ICKNIELD WAY

Ic(c)enhilde weg 903 (12th) BCS 601, 944 (12th) ib. 801

Icenhylte 903 (12th) BCS 603

Icenilde weg 956 (c. 1250) BCS 1183

Ycenilde weg 973 (c. 1250) BCS 1292

Icenhilde weg c. 1050 (c. 1250) BCS 479

Hykenild c. 1090 (c. 1230) Laws of William 1

Hikenilldes weye 1279 RH

Whatever be the ultimate etymology of this road-name it should be made clear at the outset that this is not the name of a Roman road but of an ancient British track-way and that, appropriately enough, while the other three great roads, Watling Street, Ermine Street and the Foss Way, contain in their names an element loaned from Latin, there can be little doubt that *Icenhylte* is purely British in origin, and from the reference in the charter of 903 it seems that it could be used without the addition of even such a word as *weg* to indicate the road.

In the pre-Conquest charter references it is used of that ancient road at Wanborough (W), Hardwell in Uffington, Harwell and Blewbury (Berks), and Risborough (Bucks). We have no very early evidence for the application of this name to any of the extensions of the track-way east or west. For the westward extension towards Marlborough we might have expected charter-evidence if the name had been in actual use. For the eastward extension in the Royston-Baldock direction we have no charter material at all, but we have the 13th cent. reference to the road near Chippenham in East Cambs.

From its being one of the four privileged roads of the Laws an early extension of the use of the name of this ancient road took place. The series of references given below¹ show that

¹ In Alvechurch we have Wm de *Ikenildstrete* in 1319 (Pat), Henry *Ikelyngstrete* in 1340 (NI), terra in *Ekelingstrete* in 1535 (VE). In Littleton we have Nicholaus *Iggengyld* in 1275 (SR) and Ricardus *Ikenild* in 1327 (ib.). (References due to Mr F. T. S. Houghton.)

as far back as the 13th cent. there was an Icknield Street in Worcestershire, certainly at Alvechurch and probably also at Littleton, where it must, in that case, have come to be used for that road commonly known as Buckle Street, earlier *Buggildstret* (BCS 126) and *Bucgan stræt* (BCS 1201). This must be the line of road now called Icknield Street on the maps, and that in its turn be identified, at least in part, with the mysterious *Rikenild stret* of which we first hear in Higden's *Polychronicon* ii, 46 (c. 1400) where he speaks of that road as running from St Davids by Worcester, Birmingham and Lichfield to York. There has been much idle speculation as to the origin of the form *Rykenild*. It is clear from the forms given above that it is simply a case of ME *at there Ikenilde strete* developing to *at the Rikenilde strete*.

The name *Ikenildestreta* is also used for an entirely different road in the Pipe Roll for 31 Hy 2, where it refers to the old Roman road from Salisbury to Badbury and Dorchester.

In the present state of our knowledge it does not seem profitable to enter into any discussion of the ultimate meaning of the name Icknield itself. It should perhaps be noted that although the name occurs in a series of Old English charters in no case is the MS authority for the form of the name earlier than the 13th cent. Recent work, especially that of Dr Cyril Fox, has given fresh illustration of the high antiquity and great importance of this road. v. Addenda.

WATLING STREET

Wætlinga stræt c. 880–890 Peace of Alfred and Guthrum, 956 (c. 1200) BCS 986, 1013 E (c. 1050) ASC

Wæclinga stræt 926 (c. 1200) BCS 659, 944 BCS 792, 975 (12th) ib. 1315, 986 (c. 1000) O.S. Facs. iii, no. xxxvi, 1013 C (11th) ASC

Wæxlinga strat 926 (c. 1200) BCS 659

Watlingan stræt 957 (post-Conquest imitative copy), O.S. Facs. ii, Westminster ii, 1013 D (11th) ASC

Uueclinca strata 1013 F (12th) ASC

Watlingestrete, Wetlingestrete c. 1090 (c. 1230) Laws of William I

In the above references for this name we have the name Watling Street applied to the road now known by that name at

Hampstead and Edgware (Mx), Chalgrave (Beds), at the point where it crosses the Ouse, at Stowe Nine Churches and at Weedon (Nth), and (in the ASC) an entirely vague reference. In the last reference given it is used as the name of one of the four great roads of England. The only Old English charter evidence for the country north-west of Stowe Nine Churches through which Watling Street makes its way is the Aston by Wellington Charter (BCS 1315) which shows that by 973 the name was applied to other stretches of the great Roman road from London to Wroxeter. The presumption is that by the time of William the Conqueror it had its present full extension, and later writers like Henry of Huntingdon and Robert of Gloucester explicitly so define it.

As to the origin of the name there can be no doubt that here as in Ermine Street *supra* we have a name of purely local and limited application gradually extended in its use. One must associate *Wætlinga* or *Wæclinga stræt* with the Old English name for the Roman settlement at Verulamium. In Bede this is called *Uaeclingacæstir* (Moore MS) with variant forms *Ueclingua-* (Namur MS), *Uaeclinga-* (Cott Tib C ii), with *Wæclinga-* in the OE Bede (10th). In the *Old English Martyrology* (c. 950) we have *Wætlingaceaster* with an alternative reading *Wealynga-* (c. 900). The form *Wætlingaceaster* is also found in KCD 672, a 13th cent. copy of a 10th cent. charter. It is clear that the same settlers who established themselves on the site of Verulamium gave their name, not only to this site but to the Roman road on which it stood. Soon the name of the road was extended in its application in the same way that we have seen the use of the name Ermine Street developed.

The exact name of these settlers raises difficulties. The evidence set forth above makes it clear that the true form of their name was *Wæclingas* rather than *Wætlingas*; and the possibility of such a personal name and of a later development to *Wætl-* is made certain by two other place-names:—Watlington (O), *Wæclinctun* in BCS 547 and Watchfield (Berks), *Wæclesfeld* in BCS 675. If the patronymic comes from a personal name *Wæcel*, as seems fairly clear, the *c* should be a front *c* and Watchfield shows the phonological development which we should normally expect. It would seem however that in Watlington

and Watling Street and *Watlingchester* the front *c* became a back *c*, pronounced as *k*. Such a pronunciation may in part be due to early syncope of the unstressed *e*, bringing the *c* and *l* together, but it was probably influenced also by ready association with the adjective *wacol*, 'wakeful,' with back *c*. *wæcel* must indeed be interpreted as a derivative from the same stem as *wacol*, with a suffix *-il* which caused mutation of the stem vowel. For such a pers. name cf. OGer *Wachila* (Förstemann PN *s.n.*). Later development of *Wakl-* to *Watl-* is an example of a common confusion of *k* and *t* as in Devonshire Battleford, Gortleigh, Rattlebrook, all with *t* for *k*.

We know nothing of these *Wæclingas*. There is no reason to suppose that they were any more important than any other of the numerous settlers bearing group-names in *-ingas*. It was only because their name had come to be associated with so famous a road that Florence of Worcester started the legend that they were sons of a certain king *Weatla* who made a road right across England. Suspicious as this story is in itself it is clear that it must go completely by the board when we realise that the name behind the road is not a name with *tl* in it at all.

Its use for the Roman road running southwards from Wroxeter through Church Stretton and along the Welsh border was perhaps inevitable. The name Watling Street was, like that of Ermine Street and Icknield Way, later extended. It is also used of at least one other entirely independent road, viz. the Roman road from York to Corbridge and the Cheviots. *v.* Addenda.

BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE RIVER-NAMES

The forms of the river-names, so far as they are found in early documents, are as follows. Their interpretation is reserved for the present, as they can only satisfactorily be dealt with as a whole.

HAIL, R. (lost)

Haile c. 1180 (c. 1230) *Warden* 21 *b*

Hayle 1256 *St Neot* 137 *b*, 1276 RH

Heile, the water called 13th BHRS i. 116

The first of these references is to a stream close to Perry Wood in Great Staughton in Hunts and is clearly the river Kym as it passes through that parish. The second is to the Kym where it joins the Ouse. The third reference is to a stream in Swineshead, clearly the small one to the south-east of the parish which forms a feeder of the Kym. Further, on the banks of the Kym, is Hail Weston, already known as *Heilweston* in 1199 (*v. infra* 275) and Hail Bridge, *infra* 265. It is clear therefore that in *Hail* we have the original name of the river Kym, whose present name is clearly a back-formation from Kimbolton, the chief town on its banks. For such a river-name we may compare the Hayle R. (Co), *Hegel* in 1125 in WMP.

IVEL, R.

Gifla (gen. pl.) c. 1150 BCS 297
Givle c. 1180 (c. 1230) *Warden* 11
Giuele 1232 FF
Yivele 1294 Ipm
Yevelle 1341 AD vi

This river-name is the same as the Yeo R. (So), mentioned in BCS 695, 894 as *Gifle* and in BCS 546 as *Yewel*. This river-name preserves its full form in Yeovil (So), which stands on its banks, and is present as *Il-* in Ilchester. The name of the Ivel has undergone a similar reduction in Northill and Southill *infra* 93, 96. The first form quoted above is not really the name of the river itself but the name given in the Tribal Hidage to the people who dwelled by it. *v. Introduction* xviii.

LEA, R.

Lygean 895 A (c. 900) ASC 913 A (c. 925) *ib.*, *Lygan* 896 A (*ib.*), *Ligean* 913 D (c. 1050) *ib.*
Leye 1274, 1294 *Ass*
Luye 1294 *Ass*, 1317 *Ass* (as quoted in BHRS iii. 221)

The river-name is found in the early forms of Luton and Limbury *infra* 155-6, both of which stand on its banks, and also in Leyton (Ess), *Lygetun* in KCD 824, near to where the Lea flows into the Thames.

LOVAT, R. or OUZEL, R.

Louente, Louette, Luuente 1276 *Ass*

(For other forms of this river-name *v.* PN Bk 1.) It is the same as the Lavant River in Sussex for which we have the early reference in CIR (1228) 'aqua quae vocatur la Lovente.' The modern alternative name is a playful derivative of *Ouse*, a would-be 'Little Ouse.' In BHRS (v. 175) an alternative form of this last name is given, viz. *Whizzle* Brook.

NEN, R.

Nyn 948 (c. 1200) BCS 871, c. 960 (c. 1200) BCS 1129

Nén c. 1000 Saints

Nen a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733, 963 E (12th) ASC

Nien c. 1000 Hist. El.

water of Nene 1549 FF

Neen c. 1660 Moore, *Map of the Great Levell*

This river-name is identical with that of the stream now called Rhee, which gave its name to Neen Savage and Neen Sollars in Herefordshire. This is *Nen* in BCS 1007 and KCD 952.

OUSE, R.

Usan (acc.) 1010 E (c. 1200) ASC

Use 1276 *Ass*

Hus 1276 *Ass*

O(u)se 1287 *Ass*

Ousee 1334 Ipm

SAFERON, R. (lost)

aquam que vocatur Seuerne 13th Harrold 31 *b*

Sauerna ib. 32

Dr Fowler first called attention to this 'Severn' stream which, from the passages in the Harrold Cartulary, was clearly a stream in Bedford Borough. He has supplied a passage from the Bushmead Cartulary (50 *b*) which fixes its course more precisely. There we have reference to a *villa* in All Hallows Parish which abuts on the water called *Seuerne*. He shows that this must be the stream shown on Speed's map rising in the north-west near the Friars, flowing past All Hallows and making its way down to the Ouse in a south-easterly direction. For a further note

upon this *Severne Diche*, v. VCH iii. 8, n. 10. The Rev. F. W. Breed calls attention to the name *Saferondiche* applied to this stream (Farrer, *Ouse's Silent Tide*, 220) and the tradition that the ditch was so called from the colour of its waters, due to the iron found in it. This is of course an impossible derivation. It is clear that the stream is the same as the Severn (OE *Sæferne*, *Sefærn*)¹.

¹ In the Newnham Cartulary (116 b) we have a grant by one Gilbert, son of Ralph of Renhold, in which the name *Sauernebrygge* occurs. It is impossible to identify the site of the grant, but there can be little doubt that here we have reference to a bridge which crossed this little Severn stream.

BEDFORDSHIRE

Bedford

BEDFORD

Bedanford 918 A (c. 925) ASC

Bydanford c. 1000 Saints

Bedeford 1086 DB

Bedford 1198 FF

‘Beda’s ford,’ the pers. name *Bēda* being the same as that of the great historian and also of the *Bīeda* of the entry in the ASC *s.a.* 501. *Bīeda* is the West Saxon form, *Bēda* the Anglian one. There is a reference in the ASC *s.a.* 571 to a battle fought by Cuthwulf of Wessex against the British at a place called *Bedcanford* (*v.* Introduction xiv). It has often been assumed that this *Bedcanford* is Bedford, but it is clear, apart from any historical difficulties, that *Bedcanford* and *Bedanford* can only refer to the same place if we assume that in OE you might have alternative names of a place, one in which you used the man’s ordinary name (here *Beda*) and another in which you used a pet or diminutive form of that name (here *Bedca*). There is no adequate evidence of such a usage. On the phonological side it may be said that an Anglian form *Bedan-* is unlikely in the Parker Chronicle, *s.a.* 918, and to this extent we have further evidence against identifying the two names for we cannot equate WS *Bedanford* and WS *Biedcanford*. The *Bydan-* form in the *Saints* document is however in favour of an earlier WS *Biedan-*, and in that case we must assume that *Bedanford* is a stray Anglian form.

ALDERMANBURY (lost)

Aldemanneby 1226 ClR

Aldermanbury 1299 Orig, IpmR

Aldermannesbury 1331 QW

This name probably preserves the name of the official residence of the OE *ealdormann* or ‘earl’ of the county in Saxon times (*v.* burh). Cf. Aldermanbury (Mx).

BATT'S FORD

Batesford 1302, 1340 FA (p)

Sampson and William de *Batesford* are associated with Odell and not with Bedford, so that this suggested identification is very doubtful. On the other hand, no other likely identification of *Batesford* can be suggested.

BRICKHILL

Brichull 1276 Ass

Berchull 1276 Ass

Bryk-, Brikhull 1287 Ass

The history of this name is probably the same as that of Brickhill (Bk), viz. that it is a compound of the British equivalent of Welsh *brig*, 'top, summit,' and that we have a name in which the British word for *hill* is followed by that word itself. See further PN Bk 31 and note Brickhill (Nt), Dugd. vi. 474 b.

CAULDWELL PRIORY

Caudewelle 1200 FF *et passim*

Kaldewell, Caldewelle 1201 Cur, 1227 Ass *et passim*

Chaldewelle 1224 Pat

Caudwell 1611 Speed

'Cold spring' *v.* *cald, wielle*.

I. STODDEN HUNDRED

Stoden(e) 1086 DB, 1163 P, 1227 Ass

Stodden(e) 1086 DB, 1202 Ass, 1287 Ass, 1302, 1316, 1346, 1428 FA

Stodone 1175 P

Stodesden 1177 P

Stotden 1276 Ass

v. *stod*, *denu*. 'Stud-valley' or possibly, if we may assume that the 1276 form preserves unassimilated consonants which have been assimilated in all the earlier forms, we should take the first element to be OE *stott*. The difference of sense would be slight. The site of the meeting-place of the Hundred is unknown.

Bolnhurst

BOLNHURST [bounərs] 84 C 9

Bolehestre, Bulehestre 1086 DB*Bollenhirst* Wm 1 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 7*Bolleherst* c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney passim**Boleherst, Bolehurst* Hy 2 AD (C 5124), 1179 P, 1198, 1200, 1202 FF, c. 1200 BM, 1202 Ass, 1232 Ch, Cl, 1240 Ass, 1242 Fees 885, 1247 Ass, 1262 FF*Balnherst, Balnhurst* 1202 Ass, 1428 FA*Bolhurst, Bolherst* 1220 LS, 1247 Ass, 1262 FF, 1276 Ass*Bonehurst* 1227 Ass*Bolneherst* 1240 FF (p), 1271 FF, 1399 Cl*Bolnherst, Bolnhurst, Bolnhirst* 1240 Ass, 1276 Ass, 1284, 1302, 1316 FA, 1323, 1330 Ipm, 1346 FA, 1373 Cl, 1390 CS*Bolesherst* 1240 Ass*Bollehurst* 1242 Fees 868, 1253 FF*Bolehirst, Bolehurst* 1247 Ass, 1302 FA*Bolenhurst, Bolenherst* 1247 Ass, 1283 AD i*Bollenhurst* 1287 Ass (p), 1358 AD i*Bolnehurst* al. *Bownest* c. 1550 *Linc**Bolnest* 1493 Ipm*Bonehurste* al. *Bolenhurste* 1596 BM

‘Bol(l)a’s wood.’ In the 11th cent. we have two *herst*- forms and one *i*- form, in the 12th four *herst*- and one *hurst*- form, in the 13th fifteen *e*- forms, one *i*- form, thirteen *u*- forms, in the 14th two *i*- forms and eight *u*- forms. After that *u*- forms prevail. *v. hyrst*. It is uncertain whether the personal-name which forms the first element was *Bola* or *Bolla*, but the 11th cent. *Thorney* form makes the latter probable. For *Bola v. Redin* 85; cf. *Bolnoe infra* 28. The name *Bolla* possibly arose as a short form of *Bōtlāf*. For the *a*- forms cf. *Colworth infra* 40.

GREENSBURY

Grymesbury 1331 QW

The *Grym* family had a holding in Bolnhurst in 1302 (FA) and *bury* is here used in the manorial sense (*v. burh*). Hence ‘*Grym’s manor*.’ The modern form is corrupt.

MAVOURN

Maverns 1549 LP

Dean

DEAN, UPPER and LOWER 74 J 7

Dene 1086 DB *passim**Middeldene* 1287 *Ass**Dene juxta Tillebroke* 1307 *Ass**Overdene* 1430 Pat*Overdeane, Netherdeane* 1539 Dugd vi. 82*Overden, Netherden* 1545 LP

v. denu. The valley is that of the tributary stream which joins the Til at Lower Dean. *Over* and *Nether* are the usual earlier terms for places now known as *Upper* and *Lower*. Tilbrook is the neighbouring Huntingdonshire parish. Where the settlement of *Middeldene* was it is impossible to say.

HARROWICK

Harewyke, Herewik 1287 *Ass* (p)

The material is poor, but if the form *Harewyke* is to be trusted, Professor Ekwall suggests that the early form might be OE *heargawic* (Anglian *hergawic*). This would mean 'farm of (or by) the sacred groves' (*v. wic, hearg*). That word is commonly used in the plural if we may judge by the scanty OE charter material. Harrowick stands at the highest point in the parish. For such a hill-situation, cf. Harrow-on-the-Hill (Mx) and Harrowden *infra* 91 and (Nth) and Peperharow (Sr).

HAY WOOD

Netherhay, Netherhaghe 1287 *Ass*

v. (ge)hæg. 'Fenced wood.' The second form in *-haghe* shows confusion with the common *haga*, 'hedge.'

Keysoe

KEYSOE [keisou] 84 B 8

Chaisot, Caissot 1086 DB*Kaiesho* Hy 2 (1317) Ch*Chaishou* 1167, 1176 P*Kais(h)o* 1195 P, 1219 FF, 1240 *Ass*, 1276 *Ass**Caysho(u), Kaysho(u)* Hy 3 BM, 1219 FF, 1227, 1240 *Ass*, 1247 *Ass et passim* to 1490 Ipm

Kaisow 1219 FF

Keysho 1227 Ass

Cay(e)sho 1247 Ass, 1295, 1296 Ipm

Kayso, Cayso 1276, 1287 Ass, 1290 Cl, 1295 Ipm

Gayso 1287 Ass

Cayshoo 1368 Cl

Cayssho 1390-2 CS

Caysthoo 1421 IpmR

Keisoo 1579 Cai

Caishoe Eliz ChancP

Caishow 1647 NQ i

Casoe 1767 (citation by Archdeacon's commission)

'Cæg's spur of land,' the first of the very numerous examples of hoh in Bedfordshire names and a clear example of its general topographical sense, for it lies on a spur of land running down sharply to the junction of two (unnamed) streams. The pers. name *Cæg* is not found in independent use in OE, but it is found in the same compound in *Cassio*(bury) (Herts), *Cægesho* in BCS 267. For the weak form of this name, *v. Cainhoe infra* 147 and IPN 180. For DB -t, cf. DB *Asceshot* = Ashow (Wa).

Knotting

KNOTTING 84 B 6

Chenotinga 1086 DB

Cnottinge, Knottinge, Knottyng 1163 P, 1220 LS, 1223, 1236

FF, 1242 Fees 868, 1247 FF, Ass, 1276 Ass, 1284, 1302, 1316, 1346, 1428 FA

Cnotinges 1224 Bract

Gnottinge 1276 RH

Knotyng(g)e 1287 Ass

Knottingge 1287 Ass

Knottingg, Knottyngg 1325, 1361 Cl, 1492 Ipm

Knotymg 1337 Cl

'Cnotta's people,' as suggested by Skeat and accepted by Ekwall (PN in -ing 67). *v. ing*. Skeat quotes the parallel of *Cnottingahamm* from a Berkshire charter (BCS 895), and *Knottingley* (Y). The name is not on independent record in OE but is the equivalent of ON *Knútr*, lit. 'knot.' Cf. also *Knot, Knod* in Lincoln Assize Rolls of 1202.

Melchbourne

MELCHBOURNE 84 A 7

Melceburne 1086 DB*Melcheburn(e)* 1163 P, 1227 Ass, 1241 Ass, 1235 Cl *et passim* to 1428 FA*Melchburn(e)* 1220 Ass, 1262 FF*Meleburne* 1242 Fees 868*Melchebourn(e)* 1316 FA, 1341, 1343 Cl, 1351 Ipm, 1358 Cl*Milchbourne* 1675 Ogilby

This is a difficult name and no certainty is possible. There is an OE *melsc*, *mylsc* 'mellow' applied to apples and the NED suggests that this has survived in the dialectal *melch*, *melsh* which denotes 'mellow, soft, tender' and, of weather, 'soft.' It also suggests the possibility that that word has not been uninfluenced by OE *milisc*, 'honeyed.' It is possible that this word might be applied to the water of a stream which went down specially smoothly or was notably sweet to the taste. For the former we may compare the quotation in the EDD, 'Whiskey went down as *melch* as new milk.' The chief difficulty in this explanation is the uniform *c* or *ch* in the early forms. The only other example of this element that has been noted is in *Melcheheg* in Chalgrave in the 13th cent. *v. burna*. For such a stream-name we may compare Honeybourne (Wo).

Pertenhall

PERTENHALL [pa'tnəl] 84 A 8

Partenhale 1086 DB, 1227 Ass, 1287 QW (*Parva*)*Pertinhale* 1179 P, 1276 Ass*Pertehale* 1191 P, 1201 FF (p), 1241 FF*Pertenthal(e)* 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass *et passim* to 1504 Ipm*Portenhale* 1242 Fees 868*Perteshale* 1276 Ass*Patenhull* 1284 FA*Pertenhall* 1361 Fine*Pertenall* 1526 LS*Partnale* 16th BRHS viii. 155

Portenhall Eliz ChancP

Peartnall 1605 NQ i

Pertenhill, Portenhill 1675 Ogilby¹.

'Pearta's nook of land' *v.* healh. For this pers. name, not found independently in OE, Skeat quotes the parallel of *Peartanhal* (Wo) from BCS 1282 and *Peartingawyrþ* from BCS 262, which, it may be added, is almost certainly Petworth (Sx). Further examples of the name are to be found in Partney (L), Bede *Peartaneu*, and Partington (Ch), KCD 749 *Partingtun*.

CHADWELL END

Chawdwell brak 1607 Terr

Almost certainly 'cold spring,' from OE *ceald-wielle*. Cf. the same name in Bk, Ess, Lei, W. For *brak v.* *bræc*.

ELVEDON (lost)

Elvendon(e) 1086 DB, 1220, 1325 FF

Eluesdon 1163 P

Eluedun 1163-79 BHRS i. 118

Elueden 1179 P, 1202 FF (p)

Eluedon 1220 FF, 1276 Ass

The dun or hill of *Aelf* or *Aelfa*. Both these names are on record in OE.

PERTENHALL HOO (Fm)

Le Ho juxta Kynebalton 1301 BM

Hoo 1318 Ch

The farm takes its name from a well-marked *hoh* or spur of land, *hoo* being a form often assumed by the dat. case of that word in this county. It borders on Kimbolton (Hu).

SHIRDON (lost)

Segresdone 1086 DB

Siredon 1202 FF

Sirendon 1202 FF

¹ The forms in the *Lincoln Registers* have *Pert-* down to 1480 and then two *Part-* and four *Pert-* forms in the 16th cent.

Siresden 1227 Ass
Shiresden 1227 Ass
Siredon 1227 Ass
Schir(e)donho 1227 Ass
Shiredun 1233 Bract

'The dun or hill of *Scīr* or *Scīra*,' assuming, as seems certain, that the DB form is corrupt. For this personal-name, cf. Sherington (Bk) and Sheringham (Nf).

Riseley

RISELEY 84 B 7

Riselai 1086 DB, 1156 P (p)
Rislie 1198 P (p)
Risle(e) 1202 Ass, 1209 FF, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1253 Ch, 1283 Ipm, 1287 Ass, 1326, 1352 Ipm
Rissle 1202 Ass (p)
Risele 1202, 1203 FF, 1227 Ass, 1247, 1276 Ass
Riseleg(a) 1219 FF, 1227 Ass, 1255 KS
Risley 1219 FF
Rissele 1255 KS (p), 1276 Ass
Rysle E 1 SR, 1280 Ch, 1316 FA, Eliz ChancP
Rys(e)legh 1276 Ass
Rissele al. *Rysle* 1319 Ipm
Rysele(y) 1351 Cl, 1489 Ipm
Riesle 1490, 1504 Ipm
Riseley or *Risley* c. 1750 Bowen
Risley 1785, 1798, 1820 Jury

This is probably OE *hris-leah*, 'brushwood-clearing' (as suggested by Skeat, cf. Riseley (Berks, Db)) with later hesitation between shortening of the vowel before the consonant group and retention of the long vowel of the independent ME word *rise*, 'brushwood.' *Risan-leah* from a personal-name *Risa* is just possible, as suggested by Ekwall for Rising (Nf). In that case the original short vowel must have been lengthened in the open syllable and, later, after the loss of inflexional *e*, have been occasionally shortened before the consonant group.

Shelton

SHELTON 74 J 7

Eseltone 1086 DB*Sheltune* 1197 FF*Selton* 1202 Ass, 1236 Cl, 1284 FA, 1287 Ass*Scelton* 1202 Ass, 1302 FA*S(c)helton* 1242 Fees 893, 1243 FF *et passim**Sylton* 1276 Ass*Schylton, Schilton* 1276 Ass, 1282 Ipm*Selton* al. *Shelton* 1292 Ipm

Skeat's suggestion is that this should be interpreted as from OE *scelf-tūn*, 'farm on shelving or sloping ground,' with the same first element that is found in the unidentified *Scelfdun* of BCS 264. This is the same as the element *scylf* discussed in EPN. Such an interpretation fits the situation of this place and of Shelton in Marston Moretaine *infra* 80. The only difficulty lies in the early and complete loss of the *f*, but it is clear that this is not a serious one, for Shelton (Sa) has *Sultone*, *Schelton* and *Chelton* as its early forms in the 11th and 12th cent., forms with *f* first appearing in the 13th (cf. Bowcock, PN Sa). So also there can be little doubt that Sheldon near Chippenham (W), though the early forms show no *f*, must contain this element as also Sheldon (Wa). Both are names of well-marked hills. For Shelton (St), Shilton (O, Wa) we have forms with *f* and similar topography and the same is true of Shelley (Sf, Sx, Y). Shelton (Nf, Nt), Earl Shilton (Lei) show forms similar to the Beds names. Derivation from *scelf* might conceivably suit the Norfolk place, and it will suit the Leicestershire name, but it is distinctly not applicable to the Nottinghamshire one. On the whole it would seem that *scelf*, *scylf* denote sharply falling ground rather than that which shelves gently. Ekwall points out (PN in *-ing* 40) that such a sense would suit Shelve (K) and similarly it applies to Shell or Shelve (Wo). Shelfanger (Nf) is an interesting example of a compound in which the second element (*v. hangra*) expresses the same idea as that suggested for the first.

Little Staughton

LITTLE STAUGHTON [stɔːtən] 84 B 9

Estone (sic) 1086 DB*Stottun* 1163 P*Stoctuna* 1167 P, 1205 FF*Stocton* 1195 P, 1227, 1240 Ass*Sto(c)kton* 1241 FF (*Parva*), 1247 Ass*Stottone* 1302 FA (*Parva*)*Stoutone* 1346 FA (*Parva*)*Stowghton, Stoughton* 1390-2 CS, 1394 Cl, 1490 Ipm

'Enclosure made of stocks' v. stocc. 'Little' in contrast to Great Staughton just over the border in Hunts.

HILL FARM (6")

Churchehulle 1247 FF

The farm is just to the west of the church, which stands on a hill.

WICKEY

Wicheweia 1208 BM*Whikey* 1518 VCH iii. 166

The interpretation is uncertain owing to the paucity of forms. The name would seem to be a compound of *wic* (the reference perhaps being to the dairy-farm of the manor¹) and *weg*, the whole name meaning 'road to the dairy-farm.'

Swineshead²

SWINESHEAD [swinzhed] 84 A 8

Suineshefet 1086 DB*Swyneshaued* 1209 *For* (p)*Swynesheued, Swines-* 1209 *For* (p), 1272 FF, 1285 FA, 1293 Cl, 1294 FF, 1328 Ch, 1428 FA*Swyneheued, Swineheued* 1247 Ass*Swinehefd* 1247 Ass*Swynyshed* 1525 BHRS ii. 52

¹ Cf. *Aldwik* in Little Staughton (FF 1206).

² Formerly in Hunts.

Swaneshed 1526 LS, 1535 VE

Swanneshed 1542 BM

Swanshed 1549 Pat

Swanshedd al. *Swyneshedd* 1585 FF

Swanshead al. *Swinshead* 1595 FF

Swaynshead 1630 BM

Swinhead 1675 Ogilby

Swinshead 1765 J

There is little doubt that we should take this p.n. to belong to the group of names which includes Swineshead (L, Wo), Shepshed (Lei), Gateshead (Du), and Farcet (Hu), derived from the names of animals. Cf. Manshead *infra* 112. It is improbable that these names were given from fancied resemblance to the shapes of the heads of those animals and one must rather believe with Bradley that 'these names point to a custom of setting up the head of an animal, or a representation of it, on a pole, to mark the place for public open-air meetings' (*Bradley Memorial Volume*, 101). Probably owing to the unpleasant associations of the name, an attempt was made in later times to alter the name and to associate it with *swan* or *swain*.

SWINESHEAD WOOD

Swinesheved (boscus) 1232 Cl

Swyneheved (foresta) 1279 RH

TARBAGS

No early form of this name is known. It is just possible that it contains the personal name *Terebagge* (= tear-bag), found in the 1227 Assize Roll, but unfortunately with no indication of the part of the county to which its holder belonged.

Yelden

YELDEN [jeldən] 84 A 6

Giveldene 1086 DB, 1228 FF, 1247 *Ass*, 1273 *Ipm*

Giveldon, *Gyueldon* 1220 LS, 1247 *Ass*

Gieuleden 1227 *Ass*

Chivelden 1242 Fees 884

Gyuelden(e) 1247 *Ass*, E 1 KS, 1252 FF, 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1302,

1346 FA

Yueldene 1315 Ipm

Yevelden(e) 1316 FA, 1317 Ipm, 1319 Cl, E 3 Ipm, 1339 AD
vi, 1461 IpmR, 1660 HMC App. vii

Yelden 1390-2 CS, 1780-1830 Jury *passim*

Yealdon c. 1600 *Linc*

Yeavelden 1660 HMC vii

Yelding 1675 Ogilby

Yeilden 1765 J

This valley (*v. denu*) takes its name from the stream which flows through it. That is now called the Til, but that name, like that of the Kym into which it later turns, is, as we have seen (*supra* 8), only a late and erroneous formation. There can be little doubt that the stream once bore throughout its length the same name as the Ivel (*supra* 8), another tributary of the Ouse. The early forms of the name of that river given above will explain all those of Yelden. For the loss of *v*, cf. Northill and Southill *infra* 93, 96. *v. Addenda*.

YELDEN SPINNEY

le Spinye E 3 Ipm

Self-explanatory.

(*Detached part of Stodden Hundred*)

Clapham

CLAPHAM 84 E 7

Cloppham 1060 (14th) KCD 809, 1253 BM, 1402 AD iv

Clopeham 1086 DB

Clopham 1163, 1167 P, 1220 LS and so *passim* to 1535 VE,
except for

Clapham 1247 *Ass*, 1579 AD v

Cloppham 1253 BM, 1582 AD v

Clappam(e) 1542 Ipm, 1545 AD vi

Clappham 1582 AD v

Clopham 17th BHRS viii. 145

One cannot get much further with this name than Skeat's suggestion that the first element is a lost OE word allied to the Middle Danish *klop*, 'stub, stump.' As this element is not dealt

with in EPN it may be well to set forth in full the evidence for its presence in English p.n. so far as it has been gathered. The places in question, with the earliest forms noted, are Clapham (Sr), BCS 558 *Cloppaham*, (Sx) DB *Clopeham*, Clapton (Nth) BCS 1061 *Cloptun*, (Mx) 1345 *Clopton*, Clopton (Wa) KCD 666 *Cloptun*, (Berks) 1316 *Clopton*, (C) DB *Cloptun*, (Sf) DB *Clopetuna*, Clapcote (Berks) DB *Clopcote*, (W) 1428 *Clopcote* and Clophill *infra* 146. In addition we must take account of the unidentified *clopæcer* and *clophyrst* (BCS 1282) and *clophangra* (ib. 508). On the topographical side it may be noted that two of these last three compounds favour the association of *clop* with woods. Apart from this, however, examination of the sites of the places in question has not proved helpful, and is hardly likely to, considering the suggested meaning of the term. In the case of the two Claphams and one of the Cloptons we have forms which suggest the possibility of a genitive plural of the word in question, in the others we seem to have a compound of the ordinary type. For Clapham (Sr) Skeat suggests the meaning 'enclosure of stubs or stubby ground,' but if that were the sense we should have expected an OE form in *hamm* and traces of later *hom(m)*. Such forms are not found for either of the Claphams. Alternatively we are driven back on the ordinary *ham* and must interpret the name as 'homestead of the stumps,' i.e. one marked by such, though genitive plural compounds of this type do not seem natural. The other names would furnish less difficulty, they might be interpreted as *tun* or *cot* by some prominent stump of a tree or even 'made of logs,' but really we are very much in the dark as to the meaning of these names. Ritter (128) would connect these names with a Germanic **kluppa-* 'rock' and compares Germ. *Klopf*, *Klopp* as farm-names, but the interpretation would still remain difficult. *v.* Addenda.

It will be noted that these names show a tendency to unrounding of *o* to *a* and that in some of them the process has been fully carried out (cf. EDG §83 and Wyld, *Colloquial English*, 240). Attempts have been made to associate these names with Clapham (Y), but, from DB *Clapeham* onwards, this name has uniformly *a*, and it must rather be connected with the pers. name *Clapa* recorded in *Osgod Clapa*.

Milton Ernest

MILTON ERNEST [aˈnist] 84 D 7

Mildentone 1086 DB*Middeltone* 1086 DB and *passim* to 1372 IpmR*Milton* 1372 IpmR

The manorial addition is found as *Erneys*, *Erneis* (1291 NI, 1372 IpmR), *Ernys* (1334 Ipm, 1765 J), *Herneys* (1372 IpmR), *Harnes* (1526 LS, 1535 VE, Eliz ChancP), *Harneys* (1535 VE), *Ernesse* (17th NQ i), *Earnis* (1780, 1791 Jury).

'Middle farm' *v.* middel, tun. Perhaps so called because midway between Clapham and Sharnbrook as one moves up the Ouse. Robert, son of *Ernis*, is associated with Milton as early as 1227 (FF). The normal development would have been to *Arnes*. The modern form is in part a spelling one and in part due to the influence of the pers. name *Ernest*.

MILTON MILL

Molendinum de Middeltone 1279 RH

Oakley

OAKLEY olim [ɔkli] 84 E 6

Accleya 1060 (14th) KCD 809*Achelai* 1086 DB*Achelea* 1174 P*Akelai*, *Akelay* 1176, 1179 P*Aklye* 1220 LS*Akle* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1279 RH, 1346, 1428 FA*Acle* 1236 FF, Cl, 1242 Fees 868, 1247 Ass, 1267 Ch, 1276*Ass*, 1291 Tax, 1292 Cl, 1301 Ipm, 1302 FA, 1307 Ass*Ocle* 1247, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 NI, 1316 FA, 1414 IpmR*Okle(e)* 1276 Ass, 1328 Cl, 1344 Ipm, 1346 FA, 1378 IpmR*Okele* 1390-2 CS, 1428 FA*Ocley* 1402 AD iv, 1538 BM*Occley* 1535 VE*Ockley* 1574 BM*Ockeley* 1605 NQ i*Ockley* or *Oakley* c. 1750 Bowen

'Oak clearing' (*v. ac, leah*) with later development of *ac* to *oke*, followed by shortening in the consonant-group. In recent times the long vowel has been restored under the influence of the independent word. The history of Oakley (*Bk*) is similar.

OAKLEY HILL

atte Hulle de Clapham 1276 *Ass*

This identification is probable but not certain. It lies near the border of Clapham parish.

II. WILLEY HUNDRED

Wilge, Wilga 1086 DB

Wilie, Wilye, Wylie, Wyly, Wylye 1166-7 P, 1202, 1227, 1240
Ass, 1276 *Ass*

v. welig. It is clear that, though the actual site is unknown, the Hundred must have met by some well-known willow-tree. Trees often marked the site of such meeting-places (cf. Mawer, *PN and History*, 23).

Half-Hundreds

BUCKLOW

Bochelai, Buchelai 1086 DB

Bukelawe 1189 P, 1202 P, 1247 *Ass*

Bukeslawe 1202 *Ass*

Buckelawe 1227 *Ass*, 1287 *Ass*

Bucklowe 1227 *Ass*

Buckslowe 1227 *Ass*

Bockelowe 1276 *Ass*

Boclouwe 1284 FA

Buckelowe 1287 *Ass*, 1316 FA

'Bucca's hill or barrow' *v. hlaw*. Cf. also Bucklow Hundred (*Ch*). This half-hundred included Stagsden, Bromham, Stevington, Biddenham, Ravensden, Pavenham and Bletsoe. The site of the meeting-place is unknown, the only hint that we have as to its whereabouts is the mention in the 1307 Assize Roll of a Simon de *Buckelawe* who probably came from this place. He is mentioned there in connexion with Oakley, which is contiguous to Bromham, Stevington and Pavenham. The half-hundred is now absorbed in Willey Hundred.

Biddenham

BIDDENHAM [bidnəm] 84 F 7

Bideham 1086 DB, 1219, 1228 FF, 1242 Fees 885, 1247 *Ass*,
1315 Ipm, 1347 Cl*Bidenham* 1086 DB, 1202 FF, 1227 *Ass*, 1232 Ch, 1276, 1287
Ass, 1302 BM, Ipm, 1316 FA*Beydenham* 1240 *Ass**Budeham* 1247 *Ass**Bydenham* 1276 *Ass*, 1302 FA, 1348 Ipm, 1373 Cl, 1390-2
CS, 1428 FA*Bedenham* 1276 *Ass*, 1461 IpmR, 1535 VE*Budenham* 1276 *Ass**Bedenham* al. *Biddenham* 1312 Ipm*Bydyngham* 1362 Cl*Bedyngham* 1428 FA*Bydnam* 1512 FF, 1535 VE*Byddyngham* 1535 VE*Bignam* c. 1550 *Linc*

'The ham of Byda,' this being a personal name found also in Bidwell *infra* 128, Biddles (Bk) and Bidford (Wa).

BIDDENHAM FORD

Reyford 1279 RH*Forde* 1279 RH (p)

The curious first form must be from ME *attereyford* for *at there ey-ford*, 'at the river-ford.' For such forms v. EPN *s.v.* æt. In *Newn* 155 this ford would seem to be referred to as *Kyngesford*.

Bletsoe

BLETSOE 84 C 7

Blechesho(u) 1086 DB, 13th AD ii, 1302 FA*Blacheshou* 1086 DB*Blechisho* 1195 P*Blec(c)hesho* Hy ii AD C 5124, 1199, 1206, 1219 FF, 1227
Ass, 1242 Fees 885, 1247, 1253 FF, 13th AD ii, vi, 1302 FA*Blettesho* c. 1230 WellsL, 1280 Cl

Blechenesho 1247 Ass

Blethesho 1276 Ass, 1303 KF

Blekenesho 1276 Ass

Blethenesho 1276 Ass, 1360 Fine

Bletnesho(o) 1276, 1287 Ass, 1290 Ipm, 1316 FA, 1330 Cl,
1350, 1352 Ipm, 1355 BM, 1360 Ipm, 1390-2 CS, 1483
IpmR, c. 1550 Linc

Blettisho 1276 Ass

Bletenysho 1276 Ass

Bletesho 1287 Ass

Bletthesho 13th AD vi

Bletteneshoo 1368 Cl

Bletsho 1376 Ch

Bletneso 1509-10 LP

Bletesoo 1526 LS

This name was clearly *Blæcceshoh(e)*, 'the hoh of *Blæcc*' in the first instance. This pers. name is the strong form corresponding to *Blæcca*. It does not occur independently, but is certainly related to the early medieval name *Blac*. It is also found sporadically in Bletchley (Bk) and is normal in medieval forms of Bletchingdon (O). The later development presents two difficulties, (i) the appearance of *t*, which has persisted, and (ii) the temporary development of forms with a medial *n*. In explanation of the former may be quoted Pitsea (Ess) DB *Piceseia*, Titsey (Sr) DB *Ticesei*, Whitsbury (W) 1157 *Wicheberia*, in all of which earlier *c* (pronounced as *ch*) has become *t* before a following *s* (cf. Mawer in *Modern Language Review*, xiv. 342, and Zachrisson in *Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap*, viii. 126). In all these names the difficult and unfamiliar combination [tʃs] has given place to the simpler [ts]. For the intrusive *n* Mr Bruce Dickins suggests the existence of an alternative form *Blæccanhoh*, with the weak form of the pers. name. Then by a natural confusion the *s* from the strong form of the pers. name was introduced into the one from the weak form, and we got the resulting *Blechenesho* (or *Bletnesho* when this is combined with the sound-change already noticed). The use of the weak form probably arose from the same cause as the development of the *t*, viz. the difficulty of the sound-combination involved in the use

of the genitive of the strong form. The late appearance of forms in *n* seems to preclude what would otherwise be the simplest explanation of the name, namely that it represents an OE *Blæcnes hoh*, and contains a diminutive pers. name formed from *Blæc* by the addition of an *n*-suffix.

BOLNOE (lost)¹

Bolnoh 1219 FF

Bolnho 1276 *Ass* (p)

Bolonho 13th AD ii

Bolho ib.

Bollinho 13th AD iii

'Bol(l)a's hoh,' with the same pers. name (possibly of the same man) that is found in Bolnhurst *supra* 13, three miles to the east.

GALSEY WOOD

Galisho 1276 *Ass* (p)

The only suggestion that can be offered is that from the OE adj. *gāl*, 'wanton,' a nickname was formed and that *Galisho* is 'Gal's hoh' with shortening of the vowel. Cf. Galsworthy (D).

Bromham

BROMHAM [bruməm] 84 E/F 6

Bruneham, *Brimeham* 1086 DB

Bruham 1164, 1165, 1173 P, 1220 LS, FF, 1242 Fees 885, 1247 *Ass*, 1258 FF, 1274 Ipm, 1276 *Ass*, 1284 FA, 1287 *Ass*, 1296 Ipm, 1302 FA

Bromham 1227 *Ass*, 1248 Cl, 1271 FA, 1276 *Ass*, 1286, 1295 Ipm, 1297 Ch, 1316 FA, 1324 Fine, Ipm, 1328 Ipm, 1338 Cl, 1346 FA, 1361 Cl, 1366 Ch, 1428 FA

Braham 1227 *Ass*

¹ It is probable that this is *Bourne End*. In Jefferys' map this is marked as *Bone End*. This is fairly common as a corruption of *Bourne End* (cf. Wootton Bourne End *infra* 87) but the name *Bourne End* is singularly inapplicable to the site as it is away from streams. On the other hand, it is on a *hoh*, *Bone End* may be from *Bolnoe End* and *Bourne End* be a 'respectable' corruption of it. Cf. Bone Hill (Wo), 1262 *Bolenhull*.

Bramham 1228 FF

Brumham 1262 FF, 1287 *Ass*, 1576 Saxton

Brunham 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1291 Tax

Brumbham 1276 *Ass*

Brynham 1276 *Ass*

Broham 1278 Fine

Bronham 1338 Fine

Broam 1360 Ipm

Brounham 1361 Fine

Burnham 1361 Cl

It is evident that in this name there has, from an early date, been hopeless confusion. Skeat was probably right in suggesting that the earliest form was *Brūnan-ham*, 'ham of Bruna,' the second form in DB showing the common error of transcription *im* for *un*. The curious and persistent loss of *n* in the 12th and 13th cent. must be ascribed to Anglo-Norman influence, which may well have been strong in a place so near to Bedford and its castle. The *n* being weakened or lost in pronunciation it is not perhaps surprising that the unmeaning first element was then often turned into *Brom-* (*v. brom*), a common p.n. element, which at once gave sense to the name. Forms such as *Brum(b)-ham*, *Bronham* are due to conflation of these alternative first elements, while the *Bram-* forms show the influence of ME *brame*, 'bramble,' which is very often confused with *brom* in p.n. forms.

BOWELS WOOD

As this wood is on the border of Stagsden parish, in which Joh. de *Boeles* held two virgates of land in 1242-3 (Fees 885), it doubtless takes its name from that family. There was a *Bowels* manor in Bromham (VCH iii. 46), but no holding of the family is known in Bromham itself.

BRIDGE END

The 'bridge' is doubtless that known as *Bydynghambrugge* (1362 Cl) and *Bydenhambrugge* (1363 IpmR), which connected the two parishes of Bromham and Biddenham.

SALEM THRIFT

Sarlefryth 1350 Ipm

The name of this wood is too corrupt for us to interpret the first part, though it may possibly be the same as Salome *infra* 246, but the second element is clearly *fyrhðe* and is another example of the development of that word to *thrift*, which we find in Marston Thrift *infra* 80.

Carlton

CARLTON 84 D 5

Carlentine 1086 DB

Carlinton c. 1175 BHRS ii. 131 (p)

Carleton 1198 FF *et passim*

Cherlton 1227 Ass

Carlton 1240 Ass *et passim*

v. *karla-tun*. The most southerly example in England of this distinctively Scandinavian name.

Chellington

CHELLINGTON [tʃilɪŋtən] 84 D 5

Chelinton 1242 Fees 884, 1279 RH

Cheluinton 1247 Ass, 1272 FF

Chelington, -yng- 1273 Ipm, 1287 Ass, 1400 BM

Chelweton 1273 Ipm

Chelewynton 1273, 1303 Cl

Chelwedon 1276 Ass

Chelvynton 1279 RH, 1316 FA, 1324 Ipm

Chelwyngton 1287 Ass

Chelwenton 1290 Ipm, 1302 FA, 1310 Cl

Chelewintone 1304 Ipm

Chelvynctone 1315 Ipm

Chellenton E 3 Ipm

Cheldyngton 1347 Cl, 1348 Ipm

Chelvington 1348 Ipm, 1367 Cl, 1390-2 CS, 1400 BM

Chillington 1393, 1399 IpmR, 1765 J, 1806 Lysons

This is, as Skeat suggests, from OE *Cēolwynne-tun*, 'farm of Ceolwynn,' that being a woman's name in OE.

BRIDGE END

It was doubtless here that Wm *de Ponte de Chelwyngton* (1287 *Ass*) lived.

Felmersham

FELMERSHAM [fensəm] 84 C/D 6

Flammeresham 1086 DB

Falmeresham 1086 DB, Hy 2 (1255) Ch, 1224 FF, 1227 Ass, 1235 Cl, 1236 FF, 1240 Ass

Felmeræsham 1163 P

Faumerisham R 1 Cur

Felmersham 1198 Fees 10, 1205 FF, 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1283 Ch, *et passim*

F(r)amer(e)sham 1201 Cur

Felmeresham 1205, 1207 FF, 1227 Ass, 1240 FF, 1241 Cl, 1242 Fees 866, 1276 Ass, 1316 FA

Falmaresham 1240 Ass

Falmersam 1283 Cl

Feelmeresham 1320 Ipm

Felmesham 1503 Ipm, 1549 Pat

Femsham al. *Femsam* 1549 Pat

Fensham 1568 Cai

Fenerson Eliz ChancP

Skeat derives the first part of this name from a pers. name *Feolu-mæ̃r*, for which he quotes the parallel of *Fiolomeresford* (BCS 1111) from a Warwickshire charter. He also gives the curiously apt alternative form found in *Feala-mæres broc* (BCS 124) from a Worcestershire charter, referring to the brook crossed by the above-mentioned ford, and it would seem that variant forms such as these explain the otherwise difficult variation between *Flam-*, *Falm-* and *Felm-* forms. It is certainly the case that OE *fe(o)la*, *feala*, which is the same word as this prefix, has a double development in ME, normally to *fele* but occasionally to *fale*, forms already found in the *Poema Morale* (Egerton MS) and the *Owle and the Nightingale* (l. 628). *Feolu-* is rare in pers. names (cf. OE *Feolugeld* and Gothic *Filumar*). Hence 'the ham of Feolumær.'

FELMERSHAM HARDWICK

Hertwic 1240 Ass*Herdwic* 1240 Ass*Hardewyke* 1276 Ass (p)*Herdwyk in Felmersham* 1377 Clv. *heordwic*.

PINCHMILL ISLANDS

Pinch (molendinum) 1276 RH*molendinum de Pynches* 13th (15th) *Newn* 165*molendinum de Ping* ib. 171

RADWELL [rædæl]

Radeuuelle 1086 DB*Radewell(e)* 1185 P et passim*Rodwell, Radwell* Eliz ChancP'Red spring' v. *read, wielle*.

STOKE MILL

Stokes 1219 FF (in Sharnbrook)*Stokemulne* 13th (15th) *Newn* 165*Stokemylnes* 1380 IpmRv. *stoc*.

Harrold

HARROLD 84 D 4

Hareuuelle 1086 DB*Harewold(a)* 1163 P, 1220 LS, 1227 Ass, FF, 1234 Cl, 1237, 1240, 1256, 1268 FF, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1322, 1354 Ipm, 1388 Cl, 1476 AD vi*Harewuda* 1167 P, 1220 LS*Harawald* 1194 P*Harewde* 1227 Ass*Harewode* 1227, 1240 Ass, 1244 FF, 1276 Ass, 1312 Ch, 1322 Cl, 1331 QW*Harwode* 1232, 1234 FF*Har(e)wald* 1236, 1244 FF, 1247 Ass, 1253 Ch, 1287 QW, Ass
Harwold(e) 1240 FF, 1346, 1428 FA, 1432 IpmR, 1501 Ipm, 1528 LP*Harewaud* 1240 FF, 1253 Ch*Horewald* 1247 Ass

Horwold 1276 Ass

Harrold 1346 Ipm, 1535 AD v

Harwood 1525 LP

Harrold al. *Yarrold* 1560 VCH iii. 66

Harwood 1610, Speed, 1730 VCH iii. 66

Harwood or *Harrold* c. 1750 Bowen

The second element in this compound is *weald*, the reference being to the high ground rising up here from the Ouse valley. The first is *har*, used probably not in its original sense of 'grey' but in its transferred sense of 'boundary' for the 'wold' lies on the border of the county. Skeat takes the first element to be OE *hara*, 'hare,' but the forms in *Hor-*, of which he was not aware, show that this cannot be right. OE *hār* normally becomes *hore* in ME, but early shortening of the vowel in the first element of the compound ultimately led to the development of *Har-* rather than *Hor-*.

DUNGEE FARM and WOOD

Tungge 1284 FA (iv. 14) (p)¹

Dungco 1485 IpmR

Duncheo 1501 Ipm

Mr Bruce Dickins suggests OE *Dunninga-hō* (v. *hoh*), which would suit the situation, and compares *Bengeo* (Herts), DB *Belingehou*, which shows the same phonological development.

HARROLD BRIDGE (6")

pontem de Harewold 1276 RH

HARROLD PARK

parcum de Harewold 1276 RH

Harwold Park 1515 AD vi

NUN WOOD

Nonne Wode 1535 VE

The nuns of Harrold Priory had a wood of 20 acres here (RH ii. 329).

¹ The reference is not certain but, as the heirs of Robertus de *Tungge* belonged to the neighbouring parish of Bozeat (Nth), it is distinctly probable.

PRIORY FARM

Takes its name from Harrold Priory.

SANTON BARN

Swanton 1240 Ass, 1244 FF, 1253 Ch, 1287 Ass, 1311 Fine,
1324 Ipm, Cl

Swonton 1251 BM, 1276 Ass, 1311 Fine, 1325 Cl

Swenton 1331 (15th) *Newn* 44

Santon 1765 J

OE *swāna-tun*, 'farm of the peasants,' *v.* swan, tun. Cf. *San-nacott* (D), earlier *Swanecote*.

TEMPLEGROVE SPINNEY (6")

This takes its name from the Knights Templar, who in 1279 had a holding in Harrold (RH ii. 329).

Odell

ODELL [wadəl], [oudəl] 84 C/D 5

Wadelle 1086 DB

Wadehelle 1086 DB

Wahelle 1162 P (p)

Wahull 1222, 1232, 1236 FF, c. 1230-40 *Bodl* (Bucks), 1235
Fees 460, 1240 Ass, 1242 Fees 891, 1244 Cl, 1245 Ch, 1276
RH, 1284 FA, 1287 Ass, 1302, 1316 FA, 1324 Ipm, 1346,
1428 FA

Wa(h)ille 1240 Ass

Wadehulle 1276 Ass

Wodhull 1276 RH, 1287 Ass, 1296, 1308, 1337 Ipm, 1358
Fine, 1376 Cl, 1390-2 CS, 1422 IpmR, 1428 FA

Wahull al. *Wadhull* 1304 Ipm

Wod(e)hill 1359, 1382 Cl, 1476 IpmR

Wodell 1485 IpmR

Odyll, *Odill* 1494, 1502 Ipm

Wodhyl 1503 Ipm

Odell 1526 LS

Odell al. *Woodhill* 16th BHRS viii. 155

'Woad hill' *v.* wad, hyl. It will be noted that all the names with wad given in EPN are compounded with an element de-

noting a hill. The forms with loss of medial *d* (cf. IPN 111) must be explained as due to AN influence. Such would be very strong seeing that Odell was the head of an important barony, commonly known to historians by its Normanised name of *Wahull*.

BROWNAGE WOLD

Brownehegge 1469 IpmR

Brown Hedge 1826 B

Probably 'brown edge' rather than 'brown hedge' as the wold runs along high ground. *v. brun, ecg, hecg*. Inorganic *h* is very common in compounds whose second element begins with an *e*.

GREAT CATSEY WOOD

Gatesho 1240 FF (p), 1254 FF, 13th (15th) *Newn* 159 *b*

Gotesho 1254 FF (p), 1279 RH (p), 1284 Ipm

Gottsho 1276 *Ass* (p)

Cotesho 1276 *Ass* (p)

Cattessho 1367 Cl

This is a difficult name. It is just possible that it may be 'goat's hill' (*v. hoh*). The proper gen. of *gāt* in OE is *gāte*, but if the name is of ME origin, as it may well be, gen. *gātes*, *gōtes* is quite possible (cf. also Gateshead in PN Nb Du). Shortening of the vowels of *gates* and *gotes* in the trisyllabic compound would explain the later forms. For initial *c*, cf. IPN 114.

NORTHEND (Fm) (6")

Northende 1279 RH (p)

Self-explanatory.

TREVOR (Fm) (6")

Tretteford 1287 *Ass* (p)

There is very little to go upon, but if the identification is correct one may suggest that the name is from OE *treowihteford*, 'tree-grown ford.' This adjective is unknown in OE, the usual form being *treowen*, but would be a regular formation, and, just as we have the pair of OE adjectives *stænen*, *stæniht*, 'stony,' so we may have had adjectives *treowen*, *treowiht*, or,

with the regular mutation, *triewen*, *triewiht*. This explanation would suit the topography. Other similar adjectives in OE are *cærsiht*, *hæðiht*, *hrēodiht*, *ifiht*. Cf. also *Sandithul* in Colworth (13th).

WOLD (Fm)

(ad) *Wold* 1279 RH (p)

Self-explanatory.

YELNOW

Jelnho 13th *Ashby*

OE (*æt þæm*) *geolwan hohe*, 'at the yellow-coloured hoh.' Local topographical enquiry suggests no reason for this name.

Pavenham

PAVENHAM [pe'ætənəm], [pævənəm], olim [peikənəm] 84 D 6

Pabeneham 1086 DB

Pabeham 1227 Ass, 1242 Fees 807, 1247 Ass

Papeham 1240 Ass

Pabenham 1240 Ass, 1266 FF, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1302, 1316 FA, 1322 Ipm, Cl, 1344 Pat, 1346 Fine, FA, 1348 Ipm, 1388, 1427 BM, 1526 LS, 1535 VE

Pabbeham 1247 Ass, 1276 Ass (p)

Pakenham 1276 Ass, 16th BHRS viii. 148

Pabham 1283 Cl

Papenham 1302 FA, 1344 Pat, 1383 Cl (p), 1406 IpmR

Pavenham 1492 Ipm, Eliz ChancP

Patenham 1576 Saxton, 1675 Ogilby

Patinham c. 1750 Bowen

Pavingham 1766 J, 1806 Lysons, 1820 Jury

'Papa's ham.' The phonology of this name is not easy, for it is difficult to say whether one should take the first element originally to have been *Paban-* or *Papan-*. Writing in ignorance of the *Pap-* forms Skeat took the first element to be a pers. name *Paba*. The existence of such a name as this is doubtful and, if we start from *Paba*, the *Pap-* forms can only be explained by assimilation of the second to the initial consonant, a somewhat

rare development. It is simpler to adopt the reverse process, take the pers. name *Papa* as the original one and explain the *Pab*- forms as due to voicing of *p* to *b* before *n*. For a name *Papa* Skeat gives good evidence under Papworth (PN C) where he quotes *Papanholt* from BCS 596. The only other possible explanation of the *Pap*-, *Pab*- forms is to take them as from alternative hypocoristic names *Pappa*, *Pabba*, showing the same alternative forms with voiced and unvoiced consonants which we find in other such names. The development of *b* to *v* is found elsewhere in Bavington (Nb), Baverstock (W), *Averton* for *Abberton* (Ess), and *v. Aversley* and *Abbotsley infra* 197, 252. The forms with *k* suggest a pronunciation in which dissimilation of *Pap*- to *Pak*- has taken place, while the modern pronunciation with a medial *t* shows assimilation to the following *n*. For some parallels to the consonantal changes, cf. the history of *Hepmangrove infra* 207, and cf. that of *Collett* (Bk), earlier *Collick*, and *Colletts Green* (Wo), earlier *Colewyk*.

STAFFORD BRIDGE

aqua de Stafford 1227 Ass

The 'water of Stafford' would seem to have been the name of the stretch of the Ouse by the present bridge. The origin of *Stafford* is presumably the same as that of the well-known town, viz. *stæþford* (*v. stæp*). 'Bank-ford' or 'landing-place ford' seems at first sight a curious compound. Its justification is probably that the southern bank of the Ouse slopes fairly sharply at this point. This early form incidentally disposes of the tradition that the bridge took its name from the Staffords, lords of the Honour of Gloucester, to which Pavenham was attached.

Podington

PODINGTON [pɑdɪŋtən] 84 B 4

Potintone 1086 DB

Podinton, *Podynton* 1086 DB, 1223 FF, 1227 Ch, 1240 Ass,

1247, 1276 Ass, 1315 Cl, 1346 Ipm

Pudinton 1163 P, 1202 FF, 1227 Ass

Pudington 1227 Bract

Potingdon 1240 Ass (p)

Podington, Podyngton 1287 *Ass*, 1302, 1316 *FA*, 1324, 1388
Cl, 1390-2 *CS*, 1509 *AD v*

Pudyngton 1346 *FA*

Puddington, Puddyngton 1535 *VE*, 1588 *D*, 1643 *HMC iii*,
 1765 *J*, 1780-1830 *Jury*

'Pudda's or (possibly) Poda's farm' *v. ingtun*. Both *Podda* and *Puda* are well-established OE names.

COCKLE SPINNEY

Cochul 13th *AD ii*

Cf. Cockhill (*So*), Cockle Park (*Nb*), Cook Hill (*Wo*). All alike are probably named from the domestic bird.

FARNDISH

Fernadis 1086 *DB*

Farnedis 1086 *DB*, 1276 *Ass*, 1284 *FA*

Fernedeis 1176 *P*

Fernedis 1194 *P*, 1207 *FF*

Franedis 1202 *Ass (p)*

Farnedis(c)h 1227 *Ass*, 1273 *Cl*, 1276 *Ass*, 1346 *Ipm*

Farendich 1247 *Ass*

Ferenedich 1249 *FF*

Frandidch 1250 *Fees* 1230

Farnedich 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1302 *FA*, 1346 *Imp*, *FA*

Farnadis 1276 *Ass*, *Farnadich* 1316 *FA*

Farndisch, Farndisshe 1322 *Ipm*, 1329 *Cl*

Farendissh 1346 *Ipm*, *Cl*, *Fine*

Farredish 1346 *Ipm (p)*

Faryngdyssch 1390-2 *CS*

Faredishe 1399 *IpmR*

Faryndish 1418 *IpmR*

Frendish al. Frendich 1509 *Ipm*

'Enclosed pasture, overgrown with fern or bracken' *v. fearn*, *edisc*. Skeat takes the last element to be *disc*, 'dish,' but there is no evidence in OE charter material for its topographical use, and 'hollow' does not describe the site of Farndish. The later forms show that dissyllabic development which arises from the strong trilling of the *r*, or alternatively metathesis of the *r*.

GORERONG (Cottages)

Wrongelond c. 1200 Ashby 195*Little Gorewrong* 17th VCH iii. 82


It is clear that both elements in this name must refer to the division of the old open field into *lands*, some of which might be crooked (*v. wrang*) and between which there might at times be 'gores' (*v. gara*), but the exact sense of the compound is not clear.

HINWICK [hinik]

Heneuic(h) 1086 DB*Haneuic(h)* 1086 DB, 1207 P*Henewich, Henewic, Henewik* 1166, 1169 P, 1175 P (Chanc Roll), 1177, 1183 P, 1223 FF, 1240 Ass*Hennewic(h)* 1167 P (Chanc Roll), 1175, 1179 P*Hinewic, Hynewyk, Hynewik, Hinewike* 12th cent. Northants Survey, 1227 Ass, 1242 Fees 884, 1247 Ass, 1302 FA, 1312 Ch, 1315, 1322 Ipm, 1346 FA, 1388 Cl, 1428 FA*Hinwick* 1235 FF*Henewyke* 1276, 1287 Ass, 1322 AD iii, 1346 Ipm, 1428 FA, 1456 AD i*Hynnewyke* 1346 Ipm*Henwyke* 1407 (*juxta Podington*), 1432 IpmR*Hynwyk* 1501 Ipm

Possibly 'fowls' farm' *v. henn, wic*. Cf. Goswick (Nb). The later forms show the raising of *e* to *i* which is so common before *n*, cf. the history of *hent* and *hint* (NED), while the *a* of the DB forms will on this explanation be due to the typically 'eastern' *æ* for *e* before nasals (*v. Introd.* xxiii).

Sharnbrook

SHARNBROOK [ʃa'mbruk] 84  6*S(c)ernebroc, Serneburg* 1086 DB*Shernebroc* 1163 P*Scarnebroc* 1167 P, 1220 LS*Sharnebroc* 1167 P

Sarnebroc 1189 ChR, 1199, 1202 FF

S(c)harnebrok(e) 1247 FF *et passim*

and other similar forms except

Scharneburg 1276 Ass

S(c)hernebrok 1276 Ass, 1302 FA, 1494, 1502 Ipm, 1617 HMC iii

Sharbroke 1406 IpmR

Sharmbrook 1785 Jury

'Dung-brook,' presumably from its fouling by the cattle.
v. *scearn, broc*. Cf. Sharnford (Lei).

ANTONIE FARM

This takes its name from the *Antonie* family who held Colworth Manor in the 18th cent. (VCH iii. 92).

ARNOE

Audenho 1276 Ass (p)

The identification is not certain. If correct, the modern form is corrupt for *Alnoe*, and the name should be interpreted as from OE *Ealdan-ho(h)e* ('Ealda's hoh').

COBB HALL

Takes its name from the *Cobbe* family, who held a manor here in the 17th cent. (VCH iii. 91).

COLWORTH

Colingwurth 1242 Fees 886

Colingwrth 1247, 1276 Ass

Colyngworth 1276 Ass

Coleworth 1276 Ass

Colworthe 1279 RH

Culworth 1392 IpmR¹

'Cola's enclosure' (v. *worþ*), with the same use of *-ing* as in *ingtun*.

¹ It should be noted that in the 13th cent. we have forms *Calworthe*, *Kalworthe* and *Caleworth* in the Newnham Cartulary, which apparently refer to this place but are very difficult to reconcile with the rest, but cf. Bolnhurst *supra* 13.

FRANCROFT WOOD

Franecrofte 13th (15th) *Newn* 162 *b*

Franscroft ib. 164

'Frani's croft,' the pers. name being of Scandinavian origin and appearing as *Fræna*, the name of a Viking leader in the ASC *s.a.* 871. For the full history of this name *v.* Björkman, NP 42.

HALSEY (Fm and Wood)

Alfiseia, Alphiseie 13th (15th) *Newn* 163, 164

Alseye, Alsiesheye *Cott Vesp E* xvii. 238¹

Alsey 1276 RH (p)

Alsowe 1469 IpmR

'Enclosure of Ælfsige' *v.* (ge)hæg. It should be added however that the identification is not quite certain for in Sharnbrook parish there is also a place called

Haselho 1202 Ass

boscus de Haselhou 13th (15th) *Newn* 162

When we note that these have initial *h* and that *hæsel* does occasionally appear as *halse* in p.n., and, further, that there is a Halsey Wood as well as a farm we are perhaps right in assuming that Halsey Farm and Wood may originally have been named differently, the farm being *Alsiesheye* and the wood *Haselho*. This perhaps receives slight confirmation from the form *Alsowe* given above, which looks like a blending of two such names. In connexion with the earliest forms it may be noted that OE *Ælfsige* occasionally appears as *Alfesi* in the 13th cent.

PIPPIN WOOD (6")

This retains the name of *Pipings* manor (VCH iii. 89).

SHARNBROOK MILL

Molendinum de Sernebroc 1199 Abbr

TEMPLE WOOD (6")

The Knights Templar had a manor here in 1279 (cf. RH ii. 323).

¹ Cartulary of St Andrew's, Northampton.

THE TOFT

Toft(e) 1279 RH (p), 1331 QW*Taft* 1804 Smith

v. topt. It is noteworthy that this place shares with Toft (C) the honour of being one of the two most southerly examples of this element in English place-names. While it is not as a rule definite evidence for Scandinavian settlement, for it was a common ME word, it is perhaps worthy of note that it is found in the same parish as Francroft *supra* 41. See further, Introd. xix.

TRIKETS BURY (lost)

Trikatesburi 1202 Ass

This name is worthy of record as an extremely early example of the use of *bury* (*v. burh*) in the manorial sense. The Triket family held the manor of Toft from the 13th cent. onwards (VCH iii. 90).

WOODEND PLANTATION (6")

Wodend 1469 IpmR

Self-explanatory.

Souldrop

SOULDROP [su'ldrəp] 84 B 5/6

Sultrop 1196 P, 1202 Ass (p), 1227 Ass*Sultorp* 1198 FF*Suldrop(e)* 1202 FF, 1247 Ass, 1254 FF, Hy 3 BM, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1316, 1346 FA, 1390-2 CS, 1469 IpmR, 1526 LS*Sulthorp* 1247 Ass*Soldrop(e)* 1247 Ass, 1302 FA*S(c)huldrop* 1247, 1276 Ass*Sholdrope* 1276 Ass*Sulthrope* 1276 Ass, 1291 NI, Tax*Schulthorp* 1276 Ass*Souldrop* 1535 VE

Were it not for the entire absence of an inflexional *e* between the *l* and the *t* one would take this name to be from OE *Sulan-prop*, with the same pers. name that is found in Soulbury (Bk), Sulham (Berks, Sx), but it is difficult to overlook this. OE

sulh, sul, primarily used of the plough, and then of the furrow made by it, do seem to have been used in a topographical sense, presumably to denote a gully or narrow channel, as illustrated in *sulh* (BCS 994, 1290), referring to the same place, and *sulhford* (BCS 166, 1331), referring to two places. Souldrop lies on the edge of a well-marked depression through which runs a tributary of the Ouse, and used by the Midland Railway for making its way from the valley of the Ouse to the point known as Sharnbrook Summit (337 ft.). The end of the valley is called Souldrop Gap on Bryant's map (1826). There can be little doubt therefore that the whole name means 'thorp by the well-marked valley¹. For the form of the suffix, *v. þorp*².

FORTY FOOT LANE

in le Lane 1302 FA (p)

Self-explanatory.

LEE (Fm)

Leye 1276 Ass (p)

la Leye 1302, 1346 FA

'Clearing' *v. leah*, or possibly 'fallow' *v. læge*

Stagsden

STAGSDEN 84 F 5/6

Stacheden(e) 1086 DB, 1198 FF, 1202 Ass, 1204, 1219 FF, 1227 Ass, 1235 Ch, 1242 Fees 807, 1247 Ass, 1276 RH, 1283 Ipm, 1284 FA, 1287 Ass, 1302, 1316 FA, 1366 Cl, Fine, 1390-2 CS, 1428 FA, 1430 IpmR, 1494 Ipm

Staggeden 1183 P (p)

Stachesden(e) 1196 FF, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1310 Fine, 1311, 1334 Ipm, 1346 FA, Cl, Fine, 1358 Ipm, 1385 Ch, 1388 Cl

Stachenden 1220 LS (p), 1225, 1242 FF

Staggeden 1228 Cl

¹ This explanation requires the deletion of the reference to Souldrop in PN Bk 83.

² A further example of this word *sul* is due to the kindness of Mr F. T. S. Houghton. Southstone in Clifton-on-Teme (Wo) is *Sulstan* (c. 1205), *id.* (1308), *Soulston* (1327), *Solughstone* (1353), *Sulston* (1535). It is the name of an isolated rock in the deep-cut valley of the Teme.

Stakeden 1235 Fees 460, 1276 *Ass* (p)

Stachedon 1247 *Ass*

Sta(c)kesden 1276 *Ass*, 1346 Fine

Stageden 1276 *Ass* (p), 1526 LS, 1610 Speed

Stachden 1535 VE

Stackedene 1553 NQ i

Stagsden or *Stachden* 1766 J

It is easier on the whole to explain this name if we start from the assumption that *Stak-* is the first syllable than if we begin with *Stag-*, for not only are the *Stach-* forms much the earliest and much the most frequent in early times, but it is also easily explicable that *Stak-* should be voiced to *Stag-* before *sd* (aided by association with the common word *stag*), while it would be very difficult to find a reason for the change from *Stag-* to *Stak-*. This presumption is supported by the fact that while we have no evidence for a pers. name *Stagge*¹ we do know that there was an ON pers. name *Stakkr*, really a nickname, denoting a person as hefty as a 'stack' (v. Lind, *Personbinamn* s.n.) which is found in Staxton (Y) and in a lost *Stachesbi* in that county (v. Lindkvist, *PN Scand. Origin*, lxiii). The existence of other names in this Hundred which certainly contain a Scandinavian element make such a derivation possible. The familiar alternation in English pers. names between strong and weak forms probably led to the use of a genitival form *Stache(n)* in place of the regular *Staches* (cf. *Stachenden* supra). Alternative forms with and without voicing of the *k* seem to have been in use till quite late, cf. Cople and Moggerhanger *infra* 89, 91. v. denu. v. Addenda.

ASTEY WOOD [a'sti]

Estey 13th (15th) *Newn* 10

Estheie ib. 17 b

Arsty Wood 1826 B

'East enclosure' v. (ge)hæg. It is on the eastern boundary of the parish.

BURY END

The site of Burdelys Manor (BHRS viii. 7). v. burh.

¹ We may note however the mysterious *to stag inwicum* (BCS 758) which may be for *stacgingwicum* as actually amended in KCD 1131.

DILWICK (lost)

Direwic 1202 Ass

Dilewic, Dilewyk, Dylewyk, Dilewik 1219, 1242, 1255, 1262

FF, 1325 Cl, 1335 Ipm, 1336, 1388 Cl

Dylewick, Dylewyck 1254 FF, 1287 Ass

Delewik 1274 Ipm, 1432 IpmR

Dilwyke 1276 Ass

Dillewyc 1276 Ass

Dylywyke 1287 Ass

Dilik Park 1812 BHRS viii. 5

The first element is probably OE *dile*, 'dill,' but used also dialectally of certain species of vetch (NED). Hence, 'dill farm' (v. *wic*). Ekwall finds this element also in Dilworth (La).

DUCKSWORTH

Dukesworth 1276 Ass (p)

Dokesworth 1316 FA (p)

This name would seem to be the same as Duxford (C), DB *Dochesuuorde*, and to mean 'Duc's enclosure' (v. *worþ*), the pers. name *Duc* being inferred from such p.n. as Duxbury (La) and Dukesfield (Nb). The weak form *Duca* was still used in the 13th cent. in the form *Duce*. As the Bedfordshire forms are derived entirely from pers. names it is probable that this name is really manorial and originates from a tenant who came from the Cambridgeshire village of the same name.

HANGER WOOD

le Hangre 13th (15th) *Newn* 144

v. *hangra*.

HOW WOOD (6")

la Hou 1276 (p)

v. *hoh*.

PEARTREE (lost)

Peretre 1347 Cl, Ipm

Peartree 1812 *Award*

Land called so from a prominent tree on it.

WHITE'S WOOD (6")

The Burdelys Manor in Stagsden was held in 1346 by John le White (BHRS viii. 7).

WICK END

la Wykhend 1279 RH (p)

atte Wyche 1346 FA (p)

'The part of Stagsden lying by one of its dairy-farms' *v. wic.*

Stevington

STEVINGTON [stefən] [stivɪŋtən] 84 E 6

Stiuentone, Styuenton 1086 DB, c. 1129 BM, 1237 FF, 1242
Fees 873, 1276 *Ass*, 1316 FA

Stiuiton 1196 P

Stiuinton 1227 *Ass*, 1242 Fees 867, 1276 *Ass*, 1282 Cl

Stiuington 1247 *Ass*, 1280 Ch, 1287 *Ass*

Stiuingdon 1276 *Ass*

Steventon 1284, 1346 FA, 1384 Cl, 1390-2 CS

Stevintone, Stevyntone 1302, 1346 FA

Stevyngton 1315 Cl, 1428 FA, 1454 AD iii, 1515 LP, FF

Styvyngton 1349 Cl, 1350 Ipm

'Styfa's farm' *v. ingtun*. The name *Styfa* is not on record, but it may be inferred from the name *Styfic* postulated for the early forms of Stetchworth (C) by Skeat (PN C 27) and is allied to the *Stuf* of ASC *s.a.* 514, both having a long vowel. Allied to these names is the *Stybba* which lies behind Stibbington (Hu) *infra* 197. That however, as shown by the gemination of the consonant, must have a short vowel. All these names alike go back to a Germanic stem *stūb-* which lies behind the ordinary word *stub*, 'stump' (NED *s.v.*).

THE HOLMES

Holm 1279 RH

v. holmr. The 'holmes' are small islands in the Ouse.

PICTS HILL [pikshil]

Pikeleshill 1227 *Ass*

Pykeshulle 1227 *Ass*, 1235 Ch (p), 1236 FF (p)

Pixhull 1227 Ass, 1236 FF, 1279 RH (p)

Pikeshul(le) 1242 Fees 867 (p), 1302 FA

Picks Hill 1766 J, 1787 Cary

'Picel's hill' or, if we must not lay too much stress on the first form, 'Pic's hill.' *v.* *hyll*. This name *Pic*, *Picel* is found in Pitchcott, Pitstone (Bk) but with palatalised *c*. Here and in Pickenham (Nf), Pickwell (Lei), Pickworth (L), Pickthorne, Pickstock (Sa) we have a non-palatalised *c*.

WOODCROFT

Wodecroft 1350 Ipm

Self-explanatory.

Thurleigh

THURLEIGH [θəˈlaiː] 84 C 8

(La) *Lega* 1086 DB, 1202 FF *et passim*

(La) *Leye* 1220 LS *et passim*

(La) *Legh* 1227 Ass *et passim*

de la Releye 1287 Ass (p)

de la Reyleye 1287 Ass (p)

Relye 1309 Cor Reg, 1394 IpmR, 1402 AD iv, 1427 BHRS

ii. 44

Thyrleye 1372 IpmR

Releggh 1387 Cl

Reliegh 1393 Cl

Rely c. 1400 Harrold 51 b

Thurle 1461 IpmR

Thyrlee 1483 AD iv

Thurley al. *Releggh* 1518 LP

Thurly(e) 1526 LS, 1576 Saxton

Thurlighe 1528 LP

Thyrlye 1535 VE

Thirlegh 1535 VE

Thirlye 1549 BM

Thurleigh al. *Raleigh* al. *Laleigh* 1641 BHRS viii. 174¹

¹ The forms in the *Lincoln Registers* are worth quoting: *Lega* to 1471, except for *Leighe* (c. 1350) and *Thurleigh* (c. 1500). Then, *Lega* al. *Thyrlye* (c. 1490), *Lega* al. *Thirley* (c. 1500), *Thyrlegh*, *Thurly*, *Thirleigh*, *Thurleigh* (1514-70).

The etymology of this interesting name has already been given in BHRS viii. 174. It goes back to the dat. sg. *leage* of OE *leah*, 'clearing,' and would normally have developed to *Lee* or *Leigh*. From the common use of this word with the feminine of the definite article in such forms as OE *æt þære leage*, ME *at there lege* fresh forms arose. By a common process of colloquial misdivision of words, which is further illustrated in EPN s.v. *æt*, *æsc*, *ac*, we get forms *at the releye* and *at therleye* which yield the independent forms *Releye* and *Therleye*. This last has survived in the form *Thurleigh* and has preserved a trace of its earlier history in its unusual stressing of the last syllable. That is where the stress would normally fall in the expression *at there leye* from which it comes. The pronunciation of the final syllable shows the normal development stressed *leage* to Mod Eng [lai], found also in Leigh (Wo), Asthall Leigh (O) and in Sussex names such as *Ardingly* which also, though for some other reason, show the same stressing of the final syllable.

BACKNOE END

Bakenho 1276 *Ass* (p), 1279 RH

Backeno 1377 IpmR

Backnowe 1535 VE

Bakenhoe 1549 BM

Becknar Ho. 1765 J

'Bac(c)a's hoh.' For this pers. name we may compare Backworth (Nb), Backwell (So), Bacton (He) and Baccamoor (D). In English records the name *Bacca* only occurs in LVD. It is best explained as an assimilated form of *Bad(e)ca*.

Turvey

TURVEY 84 E 4

Torueie, *Torveia* 1086 DB, 1176 P (Chanc Roll), 1194 BM,
1287 *Ass*, 1315 Ipm

Turuea 1168, 1170 P

Torfeia, *Torfeye* 1176 P, 1302 FA

Turfeia, *Turfeye* 1176 P, 1276 RH, *Ass*, 1287 *Ass*, 1293 Orig

Turueia, *Turueie*, *Turuey(e)* 1175 P, 1198 Fees 10 *et passim*

Thorueye 1247 *Ass*, 1249 FF

Thurueye 1254 FF, 1284 FA

Tourveye 1316 FA, 1347 Ipm

'Turf island,' one with good grass on it. *v. eg.* For the use of *turf* in p.n. cf. *turfhlawan* (BCS 537) and *turfhleō* (ib. 1201), though in the latter the reference is probably to 'sods' rather than 'turf,' thus 'shelter made of sods.'

LADYWELL, LEADWELL (local)

Landimareswell 1279 RH

This local survival is recorded in VCH iii. 114, but it is difficult to reconcile the earlier and later forms. *Landimareswell* is good ME for 'land-boundary's spring' and can hardly be a corruption for 'Lady Mary's well' as is apparently suggested in the VCH.

NORTHEY (Fm)

Northo 1242 Fees 885 (p), 1276 *Ass*

'The north hoh.' It is at the extreme north end of the parish.

PRIORY (Fm)

The Priory of St Neots held land here in 1279 (RH ii. 333).

TURVEY BRIDGE

pontem de Turueya 1276 *Ass*

WESTFIELDS BARN

Westfeld 1366 Cl

Self-explanatory. It is on the western edge of the parish.

Wymington

WYMINGTON [wimintæn] 84 A 5

Wiminton(e) 1086 DB, 1163, 1165, 1176 P (Chanc Roll) *et passim*

Wimetone 1086 DB, 13th *Dunst*

Wimuntun 1169, 1175 P

Wimuncton 1174 P

Wiminton 1176 P (Chanc Roll)

Wimedune 1185 Rot Dom

Widminton 1195 Cur(P), 1211 Abbr

Wimmenton 13th *Dunst*

Wyminton, Wiminton 1203 FF, 1227 Ass, 1231 Cl *et passim*

Wimminton 1208 FF

Wymington 1284, 1316 FA, 1348 Ipm, 1372 Cl, 1390-2 CS

Wymington, Wimmington 1287 Ass, 1780-1830 Jury *passim*

Wemyngtone 1428 FA, 1455 AD vi, 1492 Ipm

The first element is probably the OE pers. name *Widmund* and the second is *tun*, but the actual compounding of the two elements is curious. We should have expected *Widmundes-tun*, but Wymondham (Nf, Lei) and Wymondley (Herts) show similar absence of genitival *s* in compounds from *mund*-names. For a similar development of an OE *-mund* name, cf. Almington (St), DB *Almentone*, for which we have early forms showing that the first element is certainly *Ealhmund*.

III. BARFORD HUNDRED

Bereford(e) 1086 DB, 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1284, 1302, 1316, 1346, 1428 FA

For the etymology of this name *v.* Gt Barford *infra*. The exact meeting-place of the Hundred is unknown. The village, in which it must have lain, is at the centre of the arc on which lie the parishes forming the Hundred.

Great Barford

BARFORD, GREAT 84 E 10

Bereforde 1086 DB *et passim* with occasional

Berford as in 1257 FF

Berfford 1542 AD vi

Bareford 1545 AD vi

This p.n., with others of the same form, offers considerable difficulties. In solving it the places with which we are concerned are Barford (Nf, Nth, O, Wa, W), Barforth (Y), for all of which DB has *Bereford* and an unidentified *Bereford* (BCS 466), 12th cent. copy, with good forms. There is also a Barford (Sr), for which we have the form *bæran ford* (BCS 627), but as the ME forms

are uniformly *Bereford*¹ one may suspect that this is a dialectal spelling for *e*. There is also a *Beran ford* at which Offa signs a grant of land. We have no means of identifying it, but it may well have been the Surrey place itself. For this name (or names) it is possible to suppose an OE pers. name *Bera* cognate with OGer *Bero*, but it would be dangerous to find that name in all the other Barfords as it is more than improbable that so rare a pers. name should so frequently be compounded with the one element *ford*. Professor Ekwall (*Anglia Beiblatt* xxxii, 259) would take the first element to be OE *bera*, 'bear,' and refers to the fact that the Romans drew upon Britain for their supply of bears. He refers in further support of this to Barbon (We), DB *Berebrune* which might contain the animal name, and to *beran del* (BCS 398) which is similarly possible, and to *beran heafod* (BCS 120), though the last is more doubtful as there is an alternative form *bearanheafod*. He might have added as evidence for the bear in England the statement in the *Gnomic Verses*, 29

Bera sceal on hæðe

eald and egesfull

‘the bear shall be upon the heath, old and terrible,’

but on the whole we may suspect that these bears were to be found in the wilder parts of the country, whether mountain or forest, rather than in Bedfordshire, and there is the further difficulty that while there are plenty of examples of *ford* compounded with names of domesticated animals such as Oxford, Swinford, Horsforth, Gosforth, Enford there is little certain evidence for their being compounded with names of wild ones. We have none with fox, brock, boar, *eofor* (= boar) and only one or two with hart. If we leave the one, or possibly two, examples of *Beranford* out of the question, and assume that they may contain the pers. name *Bera*, we are left with a series of Barfords for which we have no evidence beyond the initial *Bere-* found in DB. Ekblom (PN W s.n.) suggests that this is OE *bere*, 'barley,' but 'barley-ford' does not yield any satisfactory meaning, first because it would be difficult to explain the absence of wheat, rye, bean and other crop-fords, and secondly

¹ *ex inf.* Mr A. Bonner and the Rev. H. R. Huband.

because with continually changing crops such a name would not be very useful. This suggestion may, however, put us on to the right track. It is clear from OE compounds like *beretun*, *berewic*, *bern*, from *bere-ærn*, 'barn,' *bere-flor*, 'barn-floor,' that in OE the word *bere* had, side by side with its specific sense, developed a general sense such that it could be applied to all cereals much in the same way as *corn* is at the present time. In those days of bad roads, when the means of communication often consisted in little more than muddy tracks and ill-tended fords, it may well have been that a road or ford which would carry a good load of corn might be distinguished as a *bere-* or corn-road or ford. Two old names suggest the possibility of such a compound. In an original charter of 697 (BCS 97) we have *bereueg* in a list of bounds and this can hardly be explained in any other way than as a compound of *bere* and *weg*. There is also the old Barlichway Hundred in Warwickshire, which certainly looks like a similar compound.

To sum up, while it is clear that for one (or possibly two) of the Barfords one must assume a lost pers. name *Bera* or (more doubtfully) the presence of a bear, it is probable that in most if not all of the others we have a name descriptive of a ford of sufficiently good bottom, natural or artificial, to carry a good load of corn.

BIRCHFIELD (Fm)

This is really a manorial name. Hugh de *Breteville* held a knight's fee in Great Barford in 1166 (RBE) and this afterwards became known as Bryttilles Manor (1521) and Birchfields (1692). *v.* VCH iii. 182. Cf. the similar development of Spinfield (Bucks) from *Espineville* (PN Bk 189).

THE CREAKERS

Crewkers 1539 NQ i

Crecors 17th NQ i

Crakers 1766 J

This is a manorial name. Hamo de *Crevequer* held two hides in Barford in 1242 (Fees 886), and the present name is a corruption of *Crevequer's*.

NORTHFIELD (Fm)

Campus del North 1227 FF

Self-explanatory. It is at the north-west corner of the parish.

Colmworth

COLMWORTH 84 C 9

Colmeworde, Culmeworde, Colmeborde 1086 DB*Colmwurda* 1167 P*Colneworth* 1202 Ass (p)*Culmw(ur)th* 1202, 1240 FF*Colmew(ur)the* 1203 FF (p), 1227 Ass, 1273, 1276 BM*Comwrth, Comord* 1219 FF*Colmewrdh* 1220 LS*Cumewrth* 1227 Ass*Colmorth* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1262 FF, 1276 Ass, 1322, 1334,

1347, 1414 BM, 1428 FA, 1492 Ipm, 1526 LS, 1549 Pat

Columwrth 1227 Ass*Culmwrth* 1240 FF*Colewrth* 1240 Ass*Colmeswrth* 1247 Ass*Colmworth* Hy 3 BM, 1247, 1276 Ass, 1333 Ch, 1373 Cl*Colmurþe* c. 1272 BM*Colmsworth* 1276 Ass*Colmeworth* 1276 Ass, 1373 Cl*Colmorde* 1284 FA, 1287 Ass, 1297 SR, 1302, 1316 FA, 1324

Cl, 1330 Ipm, 1346 FA, 1387 Cl

Colmoord 1427 BHRS ii. 41*Colmorth* al. *Colmord* 16th BHRS viii. 140*Coulemorth* c. 1600 Linc

'Culma's enclosure' *v. worp*. The name *Culm* is found once in OE and is taken by Skeat to be the strong form of the name *Culma* which lies behind this name. It may also be found in Culmington, cf. Bowcock PN Sa 81. There is also an OE name *Cylm(a)* which Skeat takes to be a mutated form of this name. Both alike are difficult of explanation. No Germanic stem from which they could have come is known. For *Cylm* there is a good deal to be said in favour of interpreting it as from *Cynehelm* (cf. Mid-dendorff 36), indeed as a hypocoristic form of that name, formed

by the same phonetic process whereby at a much later date we get Kilmiston (Ha), containing the pers. name *Cœnhelm*, and Kilmington (D) from the same name. If so we cannot take *Cylm* as a mutated form of *Culm*, and we should interpret the latter as a similar hypocoristic form for *Cuðhelm*, explaining *Culma* as a weak side-form of this name. The common ME spellings with *o* for *u* seem ultimately to have affected the pronunciation of the p.n.

COLLEYHILL

Collow Hill 1607 Terr

This form shows that this place is probably a *low* (v. *hlaw*) rather than a *ley*. Is this by any chance for *Colm-low*, marking the burial place of the one-time owner of Colmworth?

THE DEAN (6")

Dene 1240 FF

Self-explanatory. v. *denu*.

LANGNOE (lost)

Langeho, Langehill 1197 FF

Langenho(u) 1276 Ass, 1297 SR (p), 1323 BM

Langenhoo (wood) 1387 Cl

OE *æt þæm langan hōhe*, 'at the long hoh.' The alternative use of *hyll* and *hoh* in 1197 is interesting.

Eaton Socon

EATON SOCON 84 C 11

Etone 1086 DB, 1199 (1253) Ch, 1220 LS *et passim*, c. 1360

Linc (juxta St Neots)

Etton 1202, 1227 Ass

Eaton 1208 BM, 1247 Ass

Soka de Eton 1247 Ass

Etton Beauchamp 1276 Ass

Eytone 1428 FA

Eaton cum Soca 1645 NQ iii

'River-farm' (v. *ea*, *tun*). 'Eaton Socon, as its name implies, was a soke or liberty in the 13th cent., which was free of suit

at the Hundred Court of Bedford' (VCH iii. 199). The distinctive epithet does not seem to have been applied until the 17th cent. when the form *Socon* (rather than *soke*), from OE *sōcn*, ultimately came to be adopted. The *Beauchamp* family held a manor in Eaton.

BASMEAD MANOR

Bassemeye 1271 Coroner

Basmey(e) 1328, 1386 Cl

This manor is reputed to take its name from the family of *Baa* or *Bathonia*, i.e. Bath, who held land in this parish as early as the reign of John (VCH iii. 192). The early forms are inconsistent with this and suggest that the first element is the OE pers. name *Bassa*. What the second is cannot be determined. The present *mead*-suffix seems to be due to the influence of the neighbouring *Bushmead*.

BEGGARY

la Beggerie 1227 Ass, 1276 Ass (p)

(*la*) *Beger(y)* 1241 FF, 1247, 1276 Ass, 1372 Cl

(*la*) *Begerie* 1247, 1287 Ass, 1351 BM

le Beggerye 1374 IpmR

Begwary 1656 NQ iii

The word *beggar* (ME *beggere*, *beggare*) is not unknown in English place-names for it is found in Beggearn Huish (So) and it has a parallel in the frequent use of OE *loddere*, 'beggar,' in p.n. Cf. *loddere beorg* (BCS 1047), *loddra well* (ib. 1282), *loddera wyllon* (ib. 887), *lodder þorn* (KCD 796), *loddere lake* (BCS 34), *lodderes sæccing* (ib. 491), *lodres wei* (KCD 1367), *loddera-stræt* (BCS 895). The first element in this name may therefore be taken to be ME *beggere*, 'beggar.' The situation of Beggary forbids our taking the second element as OE *eg*, 'island,' even in the extended sense in which it was used in earlier times, and the uniform final *-ie*, *-ye* to the exclusion of the more common *-eye*, *-eie* is also against this view. Rather we must take the suffix to be that in ME *baronie*, 'the domain of a baron,' for which the NED gives a quotation from Robert of Gloucester (1297). Presumably a *beggerie* is the 'domain of a beggar,' descriptive of land so poor that its tenants must always be beggars. This

seems more probable than to assume that the 17th cent. *beggary*, used of a place which beggars haunt and derived from *beggary* in its earlier sense of 'action of begging,' was already in use in the 13th cent. For such terms of abuse, cf. Weekley's note in MLR xvii. 412. A good early example of this type of name may be derived from the story told by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, that when he was Abbot of Glastonbury (c. 1125) a certain knight deceived him as to the value of a piece of land he held of the abbey by giving it the name of *Nullius proficui*, i.e. 'of no value.'

BUSHMEAD

Bissop(es)med 1227 Ass, 1231 FF

Bissemewe, Byssemewe 1227 Ass, 1276, 1287 Ass

Bissemewe 1227 Ass, 1236 BM, 1240 FF, Ass, 1243 Ipm

Bissemade 1227 Ass, Hy 3 BM, 1242 Fees 886

Bissopemewe 1234 FF

Bismede, Bysmede 1236 FF, 1276 Ass, 1286 Dunst

Bissepmede 1239 FF

Biscopemed 1247 Ass

Bysmade, Bismade 1276 Ass, c. 1750 Bowen

Bishmedue 1310 Cl

Bysshewe, Bisshewe 1315 Ipm, 1387 Cl, 1523 BM

Bysshewe, Bissh(e)made 1382 Cl, 1389 IpmR, 1390-2 CS,
14th Gest St Alb

Bush(e)mede 1399 IpmR, 1427 BHRS ii. 41, 1526 LS

This is clearly 'Bishop's mead' (*v. mæd*), but no bishop is known to have had anything to do with it. On the other hand, in 1309 (Pat) we have mention of one Hugh *Bisshope* of Eaton Socon who was accused of trespassing in Eaton and Cadbury. Cadbury (*v. infra*) was at the Bushmead end of Eaton parish and it is just possible that the *Bishop* family were already here at the beginning of the 13th cent. and gave their name to Bushmead¹.

CADBURY MANOR (lost)

Kadberia, Cadebyri Hy 2 (Hy 3) *St Neot* 81, 1208 BM

Cad(d)esbiry 1278 QW

Cadesbury 1287 Ass

¹ For this note we are indebted to Miss E. G. Withycombe.

Catbury, Catburie 1309 Pat, 1377 Cl, 1518 VCH iii. 197

Catebury 1314 Abbr

Cadebury, Cadbury 1325 Ipm, 1380 IpmR, 1382 Cl

This is presumably from OE *Cadan-byrig*, 'the burh of Cada,' a pers. name found also in Caddington *infra* 145 and probably of British origin; the only difficulty about this is that it leaves unexplained the three forms with a *t*. If we start with initial *Cat-*, the *d* forms could be explained as due to voicing before the *b*, but the only pers. name which would fit is the ON name *Kati*, and a compound of *byrig* with such a Scandinavian pers. name is highly improbable. It should be added that *Cate's Wood* in this parish is supposed to contain a last trace of the old manorial name (cf. VCH iii. 197)¹.

DULOE

Diuelho, Dyuelho 1167 P, 1227 Ass, 1228 BM, 1247, 1287 Ass,
1297 SR

Duuelho n.d. *St Neot*

Deuelho 1227 Ass, 1512 AD vi

This is a difficult name. Professor Ekwall suggests that there may have been an OE **dyfel*, 'peg,' cognate with Ger *döbel*, *tübel* (from **dubila*), 'peg,' cf. *dowel*, used of a peg in NED. The compound might then be descriptive of a hoh which, by its shape, suggested a peg or plug. Topographically this is not impossible.

There is a nickname *Deule*², presumably from OE *dēofol*, found in the Beds DB in the name of *Alwin Deule*, a tenant in Pertenhall, Tempsford, Clifton and Chicksand. If he or someone else so nicknamed had given his name to the place we should have expected *Deulesho*. One must therefore probably reject the suggestion made in VCH i. 297 n., that his name might be found in Duloe. With more certainty one may reject association with the Deyville family, cf. VCH iii. 190.

EATONFORD (Fm)

Forda 1297 SR

Self-explanatory.

¹ The only map-record that has been noticed is *Cadbury Lane* (1766, J), the name of the lane which runs E. and W. to Upper Staploe.

² Cf. the pers. name *Deuleward* (13th cent.) in Thurgarton Cartulary 115.

GARDEN WOOD

Gardynesgrave 1387 Cl

This may be a compound of the word *garden*, but 'grove of the garden' does not give much sense. Alternatively the proper form may be *Gardeynesgrave* from ME *gardeyn*, 'guardian, warden,' also a 'justice of the peace.'

GOODWICK

Godynewyk E 1 BM*Godewyk* 1276 RH, *Ass**Godywyk* 1297 SR

This is probably from OE *Gōdgife-wic*, 'the *wic* or dairy-farm of a woman named *Gōdgifu*' (Latinised *Godiva*). This explanation involves the assumption that the first form is an error of transcription for *Godynewyk*, but that is no difficulty as compared with the alternative that the first element is the pers. name *Godwine*. Even if we allow for early loss of medial *w* it is a good deal more difficult to see how *Godynewyk* could become Goodwick than to accept the alternative proposed above.

HONEYDON

Huneden 1227 *Ass**Honyden*, *Honiden* 1240 *Ass* (p), 1247 *Ass*, E 1 BM, 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1297 SR, 1428 IpmR, 1433 BM, 1535 VE*Huniden*, *Hunyden* 1247, 1287 *Ass**Honydon* 1276 *Ass*, 1330 Ipm

'Honey-valley,' presumably from its plentiful honey. *v.* *hunig*, *denu*.

STAPLOE

Stapelho(u) 1227 *Ass*, 1228 FF, BM, 1247, 1276 *Ass*, 1292 Ipm, 1318, 1380 Cl*Stapilho*, *Stapylho* 1276 *Ass*, 1512 AD vi*Stapulho* 1297 SR, 1330 Ipm, 1387 AD vi*Staplo* 1512 AD vi*Staplowe* 1549 AD vi*Staplehow* 1619 BM

'Hill once marked by some post or pillar' *v.* *stapol*, *hoh*. Cf. *Stapelho* (1292) in King's Ripton (*Hunts Ct Rolls*), also Duloe *supra* 57.

SUDBURY (lost)

Subberie 1086 DB*Sutburn* 1185 P*Sutbir'* 1236 FF*Suthbur'* 1242 Fees 867*Sudbyr'* 1276 Ass*Sudbury* 1315 Ipm*v. suð, burh and cf. Sudbury (Sf).*

WYBOSTON [waibəsən]

Wiboldestone 1080 DB*Wibaudeston* 1208 BM*Wy-, Wibaldestone* 1220 LS, 1227 Ass*Wiboldeston* 1227 Ass

The forms are just what one would expect, except for such as

Wilboldeston 1276 Ass

until we get

Wyboston 1297 SR, 1302 FA*Wybolston* 1488 Ipm, 1512 AD vi*Wiberson* c. 1750 Bowen

though the longer forms persist till the middle of the 15th cent.

OE *Wigbealdestūn*, 'farm of Wigbeald.' This common name enters also into Willington (Berks), Wobaston (St) and Whillington (He). The form *Wilboldeston* found once in the 13th cent. must be rejected as an error, for starting from an OE pers. name *Wilbeald* it would be impossible to explain the long vowel in the first syllable of Wyboston.

Goldington

GOLDINGTON 84 F 8

Goldentone, Coldentone 1086 DB*Goldinton* 1167 P, 1199 FF, 1227 Ass *et passim**Goldington* 1225 FF (p), Hy 3 Ch *et passim**Goutinton, Goudinton, Goudington* 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass

'Golda's farm' *v. ingtun*. The pers. name *Golda* only occurs as the name of a moneyer before 1066 and the stem *gold* itself is hardly found in compound names before this date. There is

therefore a presumption that Goldington is a name of late OE origin. It is remarkable that the best evidence for the early use of this stem in OE comes from certain place-names such as Gillingham (Nf), containing a pers. name **Gylda*, and Gillingham (K, Do) containing an assimilated form **gylla-* of this name. *Gylda* and *Gylla* are best explained as derived by mutation from a base *guld* (= gold).

NEWNHAM PRIORY

Neweham 1198 FF, 1202 Ass, 1230 Cl, 1247 FF, 1276 Ass
Neuham 1202 Ass, 1207 FF, 1242 Fees 886, 1283 Ipm, 1286 BM

Newenham 1214 FF, 1218-27 BM, 1242, 1244 FF, 1247, 1276 Ass, 1285 Orig, 1287 Ass

Newham 1221 BM

Nywenham 1276 Ass

Newenham without Bedford 1285 Fine

After this the forms with inflectional *en* or *n* are much the commonest.

Self-explanatory. *v. niwe, ham.*

PUTNOE (Fm)

Puttanho c. 1053 (c. 1250) KCD 920

Putenehou 1086 DB

Puteho 1163 P, 1276 Ass

Puttenho 1167 P, 1247 Ass, Hy 3 (1317) Ch, 1276 Ass, 1346, 1428 FA

Putho Ri (1286) Ch

Putenho 1242 Fees 886, 1252 Ch

Potenho(u) 1276 Ass

Pottenho(e) 1276 Ass, Eliz ChancP

Poutenho 1276 Ass, 1302 FA

Potenhowe 1291 Tax

'Putta's hoh.' *Putta* is a well-established OE name, occurring again in Puttenham (Herts).

RISINGHOE (Castle, site of)

Risingeho c. 1150 (c. 1230) Warden 84

Rysingho 1252 Ch, 1331 QW

Risinho 1286 For

Either OE *hrīsinga*-hoh, 'the hoh or heel of land of the *hrīsingas* or dwellers in the *hrīs* or brushwood,' or, alternatively, OE *Rīsinga-hōh*, 'the hoh of *Rīsa*'s people' (cf. Riseley *supra* 18). Hurstingstone (Hunts) *infra* 203 is a parallel formation to the first of these alternatives.

Ravensden

RAVENSDEN [raːnzden] 84 D/E 8

Rauenesden(e) c. 1150 (c. 1230) *Warden* 51 *et passim* to 1493

Raueneden 1225 FF

Ravesden 1284 FA

Ravensdene 1302 FA

Ravenysdene 1428 FA

Rounesden al. *Ravenesden* 1466 IpmR

Raunston 1528 LP

Ravensdell al. *Ravensden* 1631 BHRS ii. 105

'The valley of *Hræfn*.' The name is not on record in OE but its existence is made probable by such names as Raveningham (Nf), which we must assume to be pre-Scandinavian. In any case, the existence of an OE pers. name (*H*)*ræfn* is made highly probable by the appearance of a compound *Wlfreuen*, borne by a burgess of Wallingford in the 12th cent. The initial *w* of this compound, and the first *e* of its second element show that it is an English and not a Scandinavian name. Such a compound would readily give rise to a short form (*H*)*ræfn*.

MOWSBURY HILL

Morsebury 16th VCH iii. 212

This is for *Morinesbury*, the manor taking its name from the family of Ralf *Morin*, who held land here in 7 Ric. i (P).

TILWICK (Fm)

Tolewic 13th (15th) *Newn* 63

Tolewyk 1258 FF

Tylwyck Eliz ChancP

The early forms of this name can hardly be reconciled with one another and interpretation at present is impossible. The early medieval names *Tole*, *Tola* are of Scandinavian origin, but the change of vowel from *o* to *i* would be difficult to explain.

TRAYLESFIELDS

This is the last relic of the manor of Trayles (1493 Ipm), which takes its name from the Trailly family, who were holding here in 1272 (Ipm) and were lords of Yelden (the head of their fee) and of a manor in Willey Hundred in 1086.

Renhold

RENHOLD [renəld] 84 E 9

Ramhale (sic) R 1 (1286) Ch

Ranhale 1220 LS

Ranehala Hy 3 (1317) Ch

Ranhall 1227 FF

Ronhale 1227 Ass, 1247 *Ass et passim* to 1428 FA

Renhal(l) c. 1230 WellsL, 1276 Ass, 1434 IpmR

Runhale 1247, 1276 Ass

Ronhall 1274 Ipm

Ronale 1276 RH, Ass, 1329 Ch

Runnehale 1287 Ass

Rondhale 1287 Ass

Rounhale 1338 Ipm

Ronehall 1498 Ipm, 1535 VE

Ronnall 1526 LS

Reynold, *Raynold* 1549 Pat, 1576 Saxton, 1605 NQ i

Ronhall al. *Runhall* 1549 Pat, Eliz ChancP

Ronhall, *Reynold*, *Raynald* 17th BHRS viii. 157¹

Skeat may have got on to the track of the history of this very difficult name when he suggests that the first element is *Hranig*, a name found in the late-OE period. He was troubled by the final *g*, but Björkman has shown (NP 69) that this is simply an anglicised form of the Scand. name *Hrani*. This name it may be added seems to be found also in Ranby (Nt), DB *Rane(s)bi*. One would have liked to have more forms with inflexional *e* between the *n* and the *h*, but it is possible that the corrupt *Ramhale* is for *Ranehale* or even *Ranihale* and conceals at least one such. That this pers. name, even though it has a short vowel in ON, might

¹ The forms of this name in the *Lincoln Registers* run: *Ronhale* (1347-98), *Ronehale* (c. 1425), *Renhalle* (c. 1438), *Ronhale* (1452-94), *Renhold* (c. 1500), *Renhold* (c. 1550), *Reanold* (c. 1600).

appear as *Rone* in ME with an *o* is suggested by the name *Roni*, given by Florence of Worcester (12th cent. MS) as the name of an earl of Hereford in the 11th cent., which Skeat takes to be a later form of this name. This would explain the *Ran*- and *Ron*- forms (cf. forms of Sandy *infra* 107). The *Run*- forms we must then take to be inverted spellings for *Ron*-, due to the very frequent replacement of *u* by *o* before *n* in ME spelling. No explanation of the *Ren*- forms or the *Roun*- form can be offered. They cannot be related to the others and show a degree of irrational variation which is seldom paralleled. The suffix is clearly from OE *healh*. This developed to *-hale* and (as often) was perverted to *-hall* and then, by a common vulgarism, fully illustrated in Wyld's *Colloquial English* 309, a final *d* was added.

ABBEE (Fm)

This was held at one time by Newnham Priory (VCH iii. 215).

BROOK FARM

cf. *Brocfurlong* 1227 FF

Self-explanatory.

GREAT EARLY GROVE [a·li]

Arnele 13th (15th) *Newn* 118, 1297 SR (p)

'The clearing of *Earna*' or 'of the eagles.' *v.* *earn*, *leah*.

GADSEY BROOK (6")

Godeshoslade 1239 (15th) *Newn* 63

Goteshoslade c. 1300 (15th) *Newn* 95

'The slæd by God's hoh,' *God* being a pet form of one of the OE pers. names in *God*- and not the name of the divinity. The change of vowel is probably due to the same unrounding process (combined with a shyness in using the name of God) which has given us 'by Gad.' Cf. Wyld, *Colloquial English*, 240.

HOWBURY (Hall)

Elizabeth, wife of John de Horbury, held land in Renhold in 1276 (RH i. 2) and the manor is called Hobury in 1549 (Pat). It is impossible to be sure whether the name is a manorial one, the family having come from some other place of that name (the

only one that has been noted is one in Yorkshire) or if *Horbury* is of genuine local origin and comes from *horh* and *burh* when it would mean 'dirty bury.'

SALPH END [sa'f end]

Salcho(u) 1086 DB, 1242 Fees 886, 1247 *Ass*, 1291 Tax,
1428 FA

Salhho 1227 *Ass* (p)

Salho 1247 *Ass*, 1276 *Ass* (p)

Saluho 1276 *Ass*, 1287 *Ass* (p), 1302 FA

Salugho 1287 *Ass* (p)

Saliho 1297 SR

Salfho n.d. (15th) *Newn* 109

Salpho 1377 IpmR

Salphobury 1535 VE

Safe End 1766 J

'Spur of land with willows on it'¹ *v.* *sealh*, *hoh*. For the pronunciation we may compare Saughtree (Sc) pronounced [sæftri].

Roxton

ROXTON 84 D 11

Rochestone, Rochesdone 1086 DB

Rokesdun 1220 LS, 1247 *Ass*

Rokesdon 1227 *Ass*, 1232 FF *et passim* to 1500

Rokesden 1232 Cl, 1241 FF *et passim* to 1300

Rokisdun 1235 Ch

Rokesden 1287 *Ass*

Rokesdon, Rokkesdon 1297 SR, 1330, 1338 Cl

Rokeston 1398 IpmR

Roxton al. *Rokesdon* 1449 IpmR

This is probably 'Hrōc's hill' rather than 'rook's hill.' The existence of such a name, derived from the bird-name, is certain (cf. Mawer, *Animal and Personal Names* in MLR xiv. 241) and it is hardly likely that a hill would be named from a single rook. *v.* *dun*.

¹ There is a considerable number of willow stumps left upon the banks of the brook at Salph End (*ex inf.* the Rev. F. W. Breed).

CHAWSTON [tʃɔːsən]

Chaelesterne, Calnestorne 1086 DB*Caluesterne* 1167 P, 1203 Cur*Chaluesthorn* 1180 P (p)*Chau(u)esterne* 1202 FF, Ass*Calsterne* 1220 LS*Chaluesterne* 1227 Ass, 1239 FF, 1242 Fees 867 *et passim* to 1400*Chalueston* 1227 Ass, 1302 BM, FA*Chalston* 1418, 1478 IpmR*Chalsterne* 1428 FA, 1441 BM*Chauston* 1535 VE*Chawson* 1826 B

‘Cealf’s thornbush,’ as suggested by Skeat. Evidence for the pers. name *Cealf*, derived from the animal-name, is given in the article just referred to (p. 237). That we have a pers. name rather than the animal-name is suggested by the mention in the Newnham Cartulary 186 of another of his possessions, viz. *Chaluescrofte*. For the sound-development cf. *Chauson* (Wo) from *Cealfes-tun*.

COLESDEN

Colesden(e) 1195 P (p), 1202 Ass, 1220 LS, 1227 Ass, 1276, 1287 *Ass et passim**Cole(n)dene* 1227 Ass*Collesden* 1236 FF, 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1338 Cl, 1415 Ipm, 1428 FA, 1440 IpmR, 1441 BM, 1493 Ipm, 1535 VE*Colisden* 1276 RH*Collesdon* 1343 Cl*Colsdene* 1346 FA*Collisden* 1386 Cl*Coldsden* 1592 AD vi

‘Col’s valley.’ The evidence for an OE pers. name *Col* is set forth *s.n.* Coleshill (PN Bk 227).

WOODEND LANE

Wodende 1287 *Ass* (p), 1297 *SR*

Self-explanatory.

Wilden

WILDEN [wildən] 84 D 9

Wilden(e) 1086 DB, 1163 P, 1197 FF *et passim**Wileden* 1167 P*Willeden(e)* 1167 P (Chanc Roll), 1346 Ipm, 1526 LS*Wildon* 1194 P *et passim**Wildana* 1208 FF*Wyleden* 1234 Cl, 1287 Ass*Wyledon* 1264 BHRS v. 232*Weledene* 1284 FA*Wyl(l)eden* 1287 Ass*Willden* 1287 Ass*Wyldene* 1297 SR *et passim**Wilden* al. *Wileden* 1323 Abbr*Wyliden* 1346 Ipm*Wilding* 1798, 1800, 1820 Jury

‘Valley of Wil(l)a.’ *Willa* is a well-established OE name and the existence of an alternative form *Wila* is made probable by the patronymic *Wilinc*. Cf. Willington *infra* 99. v. denu. The *-ing* forms show the common vulgarism heard in [kitʃɪŋ] for *kitchen*.

BROOK FARM

cf. *Brocforland* 1227 FF

Self-explanatory.

EAST END

Estende 1269 BHRS viii. 244 (p)

SEVICK END

No explanation of this name can be offered. It should probably be associated with the John de *Sebyok* who is mentioned in the 1287 Assize Roll in connexion with Beggary, four miles off.

IV. REDBORNSTOKE HUNDRED

Radeburnesoca, *Radebernestoch*, *Radborgestoc*, *Ratborgestou*,
Ratborgestoche, *Ratberbestoche* 1086 DB

Reiburgestoch 1156 P*Redburnstowe*, *Redburnestou* 1175, 1176 P*Redburnestoke* 1183 P, 1202, 1227 Ass, 1428 FA

Redburgestok 1193 P

Redeburnestoke 1284 FA

Redburghstoke 1284, 1346 FA

Redbournestoke 1316 FA

It is much to be regretted that we know nothing of the meeting-place of this Hundred, for the name raises great difficulties. The suffix is either *stoc* or *stocc*, the reference in the latter case being to the 'tree-stump' at which the meeting took place. There has however clearly been confusion with the suffix *stow*, a confusion which has its parallel in the case of the lost name *Laverkestoke* in Bk (PN Bk 241 note). Confusion of this kind is not uncommon in long hundredal names, cf. *Wixamtree* *infra* 87. The confusion in the first element of the name is more baffling. On the whole it would seem best to take it as OE *Rædburh*, a feminine name recorded in LVD and surviving into the 12th cent. If that is correct, *Rædburgestoc* is one of the few hundredal names in which a woman's name forms the first element. From this point of view it may be compared with the Gloucestershire hundredal name which appears in DB as *Celfledetorne*, *Celfleode*, *Ceolflede* Hundred, which preserves the OE feminine compound *Cēolflæd*. If we accept *Rædburgestocc*, 'Rædburh's tree-stump,' as being the origin of the name, the *-burn* forms must be interpreted as showing the common confusion of the suffixes *burh* and *burna* which is fully illustrated in PN NbDu 270, and would here be facilitated by false association of the name with 'red' and 'bourne.'

Ampthill

AMPTHILL [æmtəl] 84 J 7

Ammetelle 1086 DB

Amethull(e) 1202 Ass (p), 1227 Ass, 1242 AD vi, Ch, 1276

Ass, 1305 Ipm, 1316 FA, 1323 Cl

Aunthille c. 1230 WellsL

Hamethull 1242 Fees 890

Amett(e)hull 1247, 1276 Ass

Ammethull 1247 Ass

Ametull(e) 1302 FA

Ampt(e)hull(e) 1276 Ass, 1346 FA, 1350 Ipm, 1362 Cl; 1390-

2 CS, 1428 FA, 1452 AD vi

Amt(e)hull(e) 1276, 1287 *Ass*
Hampthull 1344, 1366 *Cl*
Amptyll(e) 1429 Chron St Alb, 1509 AD v
Amptehill 1442 AD ii
Anthill, Antyll 1528 LP, 1530 NQ i, 1675 Ogilby
Amptell, Amptle 1535 VE, 1636 HMC iv, 1675 Ogilby

OE *æmette-hyll*, 'ant-hill,' presumably, as Skeat says, 'a somewhat jocular appellation,' though it might be that the site was simply ant-infested. Cf. *Amethulle* (Hy 3) as a field-name in Arlesey (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd Ser) iii. 307).

DOLITTLE MILL (6")

'The first mill on a stream is often known as Doolittle Mill' (BHRS iii. 219).

Cranfield

CRANFIELD [kræmfild] 84 H 5

Cranfeldinga dic 969 BCS 1229
Crangfeld 1060 (14th) KCD 809, 1253 BM, 1077 (17th)
 Chron Rams
Cranfelle 1086 DB
Cranfeld c. 1125 (c. 1350) Rams, 1227 *Ass*, 1228 FF, 1287
 QW, 1302 FA
Craunfeld c. 1125 (c. 1350) Rams, 1227 *Ass*, 1247 *Ass*, 1251
 Ch, 1276, 1287 *Ass*
Cranfeld 1133-60 (c. 1350) Rams, c. 1300 Chron Rams
Cramfeld 1202 FF, 1287 QW
Cramfelt 13th AD iii
Cranfeld 1202 *Ass*, 1220 LS, 1227 *Ass*, 1247 *Ass*
Crane feud 1227 *Ass*, 1242 Fees 869
Craunfeld 1287 QW, 1311, 1388 Cl, 1390-2 CS
Crang(e)feud 1293 AD i
Crainfeld 1526 LS

'Open country frequented by cranes' *v.* *cran, feld*, apparently with an alternative form in which *cranoc*, the other OE name of this bird, was used. This would explain the *Crang-* and *Cranc-* forms.

BOURNE END

la Burne 1227 Ass (p), Hy 3, 1293 AD i

le Burnehende 1306, 1312 *Hunts Ct Rolls* (PRO)

'The quarter of Cranfield which lies by the burna or stream.'

GROVE (Fm)

Brechegrove 1294 AD i

Self-explanatory except for the first element in the early form. This is the dialectal *breach*, 'land broken up by the plough' (ME *breche*), discussed in PN Bk 60.

LEYS (Fm)

Lees Boscus c. 1250 (c. 1350) Rams

This is the plural of ME *leye* from *leah* and denotes 'clearings in woodland.'

PERRYHILL

cf. *Piriecroft* 13th AD iii

Pyriefeld 1300 *Hunts Ct Rolls* (PRO)

Pyrebroke 1312 *Hunts Ct Rolls* (PRO)

del Pyrye 1317 ib. (p)

v. pirige. All these places must have taken their name from some prominent pear-tree. Cf. Perry (Hunts) *infra* 271.

WHARLEY END

Horle 1244 (c. 1350) Rams, 1306 *Hunts Ct Rolls* (PRO)

Wallend or *Warle End* 1766 J

Warlend 1853 O

Walley Farm 1853 O

'Dirty clearing' *v. horh, leah*. For the development of initial *h* to *w* or *wh*, cf. *Worrage*, a colloquial form of *Horridge* for Hawridge (Bk). *a* for *o* shows a South Midland dialectal development of *or* to *ar*, cf. EDG 76.

WOOD END

Wodende c. 1250 (c. 1350) Rams

le Wodehende 1306 *Hunts Ct Rolls* (PRO)

Self-explanatory.

Elstow

ELSTOW [elstə] 84 G 8

Elnestou 1086 DB, 1174-81 (13th) *Dunst**Elvestou(e)* c. 1150 Reg Dun, 1174-81 (13th) *Dunst**Alnesto* 1177 BM*Elnesto(u)* 1177, 1203 BM*Alnestow* 1182 P, 1194 Cur(P), 1202 Ass, 1214 Abbr, 1220LS, 1227 Ass, 1247, 1276, 1287 *Ass**Auuestowe (sic)* 1197 FF, 1247 *Ass**Aunestow* 1202 Ass, 1219 FF, 1247, 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1286*Dunst*, 1315 Ch*Elnestowe* 1232 Pat, 1242 Fees 868, 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1291 NI,

1305, 1310 Cl, 1316, 1346 FA, 1389 Cl, 1510 LP

Aluestowe 1239 FF, 1247 *Ass**Eluestowe* 1247 FF, *Ass*, 1264 FF, 1289 Ipm*Elenestowe* 1258 Pat, 1526 LS, 1530 LP*Helenstoe* c. 1270 Gerv*Anestowe* 1276 *Ass**Eylenestowe* 1287 *Ass**Eleynestowe* 1415 BHRS ii. 35*Elnystowe* 1428 FA*Elmestowe* 1518 *Award**Ellenstowe* 1518 *Award**Elvestowe* al. *Elstowe* 1589 BHRS iv. 14*Evelstow*, *Elstowe* Eliz ChancP*Elvestow* 1766 J

The forms in the *Lincoln Registers* are uniformly *Elnestowe* from 1300 to c. 1520, except for *Elstowe* (c. 1475). Then c. 1550 we have *Elnestowe* and (once) *Elenestowe*.

The first point to be made in regard to this difficult name is that the first element must in OE of the first half of the 11th cent. have begun with *Æln-*, for so only can we explain the *Aune-* forms. The *Elue-* forms were, in the first instance, errors of transcription, but in course of time tended to establish themselves as the true forms, possibly even in pronunciation (cf. the inverse process in the replacement of the correct *Ioua* by *Iona*). This being so we may rule out of consideration all connexion with St Helena (OE *Elene*), for it would not explain the

early forms, though it should be added at the same time that the actual dedication of the Chapel of St Helen as a parish church may have influenced some of the later spellings. How can we explain an OE *Ælnestowe* of c. 1050? Skeat rightly rejects the idea of taking this as from earlier *Æðelwines-* or *Ælfwines-stow*. The *w* in these names is not thus early lost (cf. IPN 173). He inclines to *Ælfnōþes-* or *Æþelnōþes-stow*, or possibly to the names *Æþelhūn-* or *Ælfhūn*, and adduces examples of the reduction of these names in various place-names, but in all these the DB or other early forms show approximately the full pers. name. The reduction of the name to anything like that supposed to be found in the DB form of Elstow belongs to a far later date. One can only relate an 11th cent. *Ælne* to such names if one believes it to be a definite OE hypocoristic form for one of them. Such forms, in which the blending of the two elements has taken place, are known in OE (IPN 173) and we might assume either an OE *Ælna* for *Ælfnōð* or, less probably, for *Æþelnōð*. If so, the full form of the name in OE would have been *Ælnan-stow*. Personal-names when compounded with *stow* seem as a rule to be those of saints, but there are exceptions, such as Alstoe (R), from OE *Ælfnōþesstow*.

Alternatively OE *Æll(e)n* might be a derivative of such a name as *Ælla* with an *-en* suffix, such as is found in certain OE names. Cf. IPN 171 n. 3 where mention is made of the probability of such names as **Cūþen*, **Eaden*. To these may be added **Æt(t)en* from *Ætti* which seems to lie behind Adstone (Nth), DB *Atenes-ton*, Northants Survey *Atteneston* and possibly **Peden* in Pen-sham (Wo), *Pedneshamm* BCS 1282. Such names have been discussed at some length by Ritter 193 n. 2. v. Addenda.

MEDBURY

Meidebir' 1227 Ass

Mayden(e)byr', *Maydenbur'* 1276 Ass

Maydeburn' 1287 Ass (p)

Maide-burie 1616 NQ iii

OE *mægða-byrig* (dat.) or *mægdenabyrig*, 'maid(en)s' fort' (v. burh), the exact equivalent of Germ. *Magdeburg*, but why these places were so called it is difficult to say. There are a good

many modern place-names in which the element *Maiden* appears, combined with Way, Bower, Castle, and then it often refers to an ancient road or earthwork, but for none of these have we evidence of the early use of the name. In OE charters we only have *mægida brycg* (BCS 428) and *mædena coua* (BCS 948), perhaps so called because frequented by maidens. Maidenhead (Berks) goes back to at least the 13th cent. and means 'maidens' landing-place,' which Skeat suggests may have been so called because there was an easy landing-place here. Similarly *Maidenesford* in a Beds fine of 1202 is presumably a very shallow ford in contrast to the *Muchelesford* mentioned immediately after. Maidencourt (Berks), earlier *Maidencote*, goes back to the 13th cent. and may well be 'dairymaids' cote.' Note also Maidwell, Maidford (Nth). Maiden Castle, applied to the Castle at Edinburgh (c. 1600), is found in Latin as *Castrum Puellarum* and, as suggested in the NED, may mean 'castle which even maidens could defend.' That is of course a possible sense for Medbury, but there is no evidence for any kind of 'castle' or even earthwork. Perhaps it may be 'manor' which was at one time held by 'maidens,' but these suggestions for this name and those for the others are more or less idle speculations. Such names have arisen from particular incidents or ideas which are now lost beyond recovery.

Flitwick

FLITWICK [flitik] 95 B 7

Flicteuwich(e) 1086 DB, 1175 P

Flittewik, Flittewic, Flyttewyk 1220 LS, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1255 KS, 1286 Dunst, 1316, 1346 FA, 1390-2 CS

Flitwik, Flitwyk, Flitwic, Flytwyc 1227, 1240 Ass, 1253 Ch, 1276 Ass, 1489 Ipm, 1509 AD v

Fletwyk(e) 1242 Fees 869, 1321, 1353 Ch, 1525 LP

Flittewyke 1247, 1287 Ass, 1296 Ipm

Flytewyk 1247 Ass

Flettewyke 1276, 1287 Ass, 1296, 1323 Ipm, 1398 Cl, 1452 AD vi

Fletwyk 1276 Ass, 1314 Ch, 1368 Cl

Flotewyk 1276 Ass (p)

Flythewick 1284 FA

Flutewyke 1297 SR (p)

Fletwyk 1321 Ch, 1353, 1368 Cl

Flitwyke 1428 FA

Fleetwick 16th BHRS viii. 149, c. 1640 Linc

cf. *Flithull* 1287 QW

v. wic. For this name, v. Flitton *infra* 148. It means 'dairy-farm on the stream.'

DENEL END

Dunhull(e) 13th *Dunst*, 1276 *Ass* (p), 1321 Ch, 1331 QW

Denhull 13th *Dunst*

This would seem to be a compound of *dun* and *hyll*. At first sight the compound seems redundant, but there is a good deal to be said for interpreting *dun* as open country, *down*-land at times, rather than as hill, and if so the compound describes open hill-country. One might suggest the adj. *dunn* as the first element, but there is no evidence for the topographical use of that term. In the one charter in which we have *dunnen cumb*, *dunnen dic* it is certain that it is a pers. name for these are in *Dunnestreatun* (BCS 229), which survives as Donnington.

The phonology is not easy. There is good precedent for *Dun*- becoming *Din*- in p.n. (cf. PN NbDu 258 and Dinton (Bk), possibly also Dinton (W)), but less evidence for that *Din*-becoming *Den*-. There are, however, two examples in Buckinghamshire, Denham in Quainton and the 16th cent. forms *Denton*, *Dennington* for Dinton (PN Bk 93, 159), and one in Northants, Denshanger, 1227 Ass *Duneshangre*. It is difficult to say how far this change represents a definite phonological development or may, alternatively, be due to a tendency to replace an unfamiliar initial *Din*- by the more common *Den*-.

EAST END

Eston 1321 Ch

Estowne 1519 AD vi

Originally 'east farm,' v. east, tun.

PRIESTLEY [prestli]

Prestelai 1086 DB*Prestele(ye)* 1196 P, 1202 Ass *et passim* to c. 1350*Prestle(e)* 1321 Ch, 1373 Cl, 1403 IpmR

'Priests' clearing' *v.* leah. Whether it was a clerical endowment or what the relation of the priests to the clearing was we cannot now say. The normal development would have been to *Prestley*, and that can still be heard locally.

RUXOX

Rokeshoc 1174-7 (13th) *Dunst*, 1286 *Dunst**Rokeshac* 1174-7 (13th) *Dunst*, 1286 *Dunst**Rokesac* 1220-45 (13th) *Dunst*, 1286 *Dunst**Rokusoc* 1286 *Dunst**Rokeseke*s 1390-2 CS*Russoxes* 1535 VE*Roxax* 1657 NQ iii

Skeat is clearly right in taking this as from OE *Hrōces-āc*. The owner of this *ac* or oak bore the same name as the owner of Roxton *supra* 64. The later forms in *k(e)s* are pseudo-plural or pseudo-possessive and *ks* has become *x*.

Houghton Conquest

HOUGHTON CONQUEST 84 H/J 7

(H)oustone 1086 DB*Octona* John (1227) Ch*Hocton* 1202 Ass, 1224 FF, 1247 Ass*Hoghton* 1220 LS, 1297 Ch, Cl*Hohton* 1227 Ass*Houton* 1242 Fees 868, 1274 Cl, 1276 Ass*Houcton* 1247 Ass*Houghton* 1287 Ass*Houghton Conquest* 1316 FA*Horton* 1675 Ogilby

v. hoh, tun. 'Farm on the spur of land.' The *Conquest* family are first associated with it in 1223 (FF).

BURY FARM

Houghton Conquest al. *Conquest Bury* 1549 Pat

This takes its name from the *bury* or manor (*v. burh*) of the Conquest family.

HILL FARM

Calewellehill 1224 FF

The form is probably for *Caldewellehill*. If the identification is correct the meaning is obvious.

REDDING'S WOOD

The last relic of Redding's Manor, held by Reading Abbey in 1242 (Fees 868).

THICKTHORN, GT and LITTLE (Fms)

Thykethornes 1276 Ass (p)

Self-explanatory. Cf. Thickthorn (Bk).

Kempston

KEMPSTON

Kemestan 1060 (14th) KCD 809, 1199 Abbr

Cæmbestun Edw Conf (c. 1350) Rams

Cæmbestune 1077 (17th) Chron Rams 202

Camestone 1086 DB, 1200 FF

Canbestuna 1124-8 Scott Hist Rev xiv. 372

Kembeston 1176 P (p), 1237 Cl, 1254 Orig, 1291 Tax, 1325

Ipm, 1402 BHRS i. 102

Kemeston 1189 P, 1199 FF, 1202 Ass, FF, 1220 LS, 1237 Cl,

1247, 1276 Ass, 1284 FA, 1287 Ass, Ipm, Cl, 1313 Cl, 1332

Pat

Kamistuna 1195 P

Camestun 1195 P

Chemiston 1199 P (p)

Cemeston 1199 Cur

Cambesdon, Kimbeston 1201 Cur (p)

Cambeston 1236 FF

Kemston 1236 FF, 1240 Cl, 1247, 1276 Ass, 1282 Cl, 1316

FA, 1334 Fine, Cl, 1346 FA, 1349 Ipm

Kembestun 1237 Cl, 1253 BM

Kemestun 1241 Cl

Kemyston 1242 Fees 868

Kempston 1247 Ass, 1290, 1355 Ipm *et passim*

Kempston 1276 Ass (p), 1306 Cl

Kemmeston 1276 Ass

Camston 1328 Pat

Cameston 1332 Pat

Upon this name Professor Ekwall has contributed the following note:

The place is situated at a sharp bend of the Ouse. This suggests that the first element may be connected with British **cambo-* (Welsh *cam*) 'crooked.' There is in Wales a common place-name, which appears in slightly varying forms, as *Kemey*s (two on the Usk), *Cemmaes* (on Cemmaes Bay, Anglesey), *Cemais* (on the Dysynni) etc. The names in early sources appear as *Cemeis*, *Kemeis* etc. The places in question are situated on bays or at bends of a stream. No doubt the name *Cemeis* is in reality an old common noun meaning a bay or a bend of a river, and cognate or identical with Ir *camus*, Gael *camas* 'a bay' (see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i. 435). The same name is found in Cambois (Nb), Cams (Ha), IPN 26. The exact history of *Cemeis* offers some obscure points, but the word is evidently a derivative of **cambo-* 'crooked.' It presumably represents a form with an original *i* or *j* after the *s*, which owing to epenthesis came to form a diphthong with the vowel of the preceding syllable and which caused umlaut of the *a* of the first, that is an OWelsh **Cembes* with palatalised *s*, later **Cembeis*, *Cemeis*. At the time of the Saxon invasion the name would have its *b* left; we may compare *Cam Beck* (Cu), earlier *Camboc*, also a derivative of **cambo-* 'crooked.' The suggestion may be ventured that the bend in the Ouse on which Kempston stands, or a place near it had a pre-English name **Cembes* or the like and that from it was formed Kempston by the addition of *tūn*, just as Gloucester, Dorchester (O) were formed by the addition of *ceaster* to the British name. Some uncertainty prevails as to the relation between the umlauted form in Kempston and the non-umlauted one in Cambois, Cams, and between the variant forms of Kempston (*æ*, *a*, *e*).

Cambois, Cams may have been adopted earlier than *Cembes* in Kempston, before the British umlaut had operated. If so, we may assume that for the OW *e* in *Cembes* was substituted the umlaut of OE *a* before nasals, which appears in OE variously as *æ* and *e*. Both developments are recorded in Beds. But the first element of Kempston may have been adopted before British umlaut had taken place; if so, we must assume that an OE **Cambis* was substituted for the British form and this became OE *Cæmbes*, *Cembes* by Old English umlaut.

BARKDITCH (lost)

Barkesdig 1200 FF

Barkedich 1276 RH

Possibly from OE *beorca-dic*, 'ditch of the birchtrees,' *v.* *beorc*, *dic*, or a pers. name *Bark* (cf. ODan *Barki*). This is commonly supposed to be the same as that now known as *King's Ditch*, and this in turn is supposed to be part of the fortifications of Bedford due to Edward the Elder (VCH iii. 1).

KEMPSTON HARDWICK

Hardwyke 1276 Ass (p)

Herdewyk by Kemeston 1334 Ipm

Kempston Hardewik 1485 Ipm

v. *heordewic*.

THE HOO

le Hoo 1460 AD iii

v. *hoh*.

KEMPSTON WOOD

attewode de Kemston 1287 Ass (p)

Lidlington

LIDLINGTON 84 J 6

Litincletone 1086 DB

Littlingeton 1180 P (p)

Litlingeton 1199, 1202 FF (p), 1202, 1227 Ass

Litlington, Lytlington 1204 FF, 1227 Ass *et passim*

Letling(e)ton 1204 FF

Lutlington 1220 LS

Littlington, Lyttlyngton 1228 FF, 1247 *Ass et passim* to c. 1300

Lutlinton, Lutlington, Lutlyngton 1262 FF (p), 1287 *Ass*, 1346

FA, 1358 BM

Lutelington 1274 Cl

Lidlington 1780 Jury

Lidlington al. *Litlington* 1806 Lysons

OE *Lytelingatūn*, 'farm of Lytel's people.' *v. ingatun* in EPN 42. The same pers. name is found in Littleworth, Lillingstone (Bk), Littleton (Mx) and Litlington (C). Voicing of *t* to *d* before *l* is common in dialect and it is noteworthy that two of the counties in which Wright gives examples are Essex and Suffolk (EDG § 283).

BOUGHTON END

Bowden End 1637 VCH iii. 305

There is not enough material to do anything with.

COMBE PARK (lost)

boscus voc. Cumbes 1276 *Ass*

le Cumbes 1287 *Ass*

v. cumb. This is one of the few parishes in Beds in which the ground admits of anything which might be called a *coombe*.

ESCHEAT [estjɪt]

The history of this curious farm-name has been given us by the Rev. A. D. M. Gowie, Vicar of Lidlington, on the authority of its present owner, Mr H. Lines. 'The history of the forfeiture goes back to the ownership of Dr Small, who died insane and intestate. The property which was in the Manor of Bedford escheated to Hastings, 9th Duke of Bedford.'

HOLT (Plantation)

Holtebusches, Holtebroke 1330 Ipm

Self-explanatory. *v. holt.*

THRUP END

Trop 1276 *Ass* (p)

Throp or *Thruppe End* 1637 VCH iii. 305

Thropp End 1766 J

Thorp End 1826 B, 1853 O

v. porp. The word is clearly used here of an outlier of Liddington.

Marston Moretaine

MARSTON MORETAINE [ma'sən mɔ'tən] 84 J 6

Mersctuninga (gen. pl.) 969 BCS 1229

Merestone 1086 DB

Merstone 1086 DB *et passim*, c. 1335 *Linc* (*juxta Bedeford*)

Mersh(e)ton 1287 *Ass*, 1300 Cl, 1316 FA, 1361 Cl, 1390 IpmR

Merston Morteyn 1383 Cl

Marson Eliz ChancP, 1662 Fuller

Marston Morton 1666 NQ i

Marston Mortine 1840 Jury

'Marsh-farm' *v. mersc, tun.* On the Morteyn family in Bedfordshire, see the article on that name in BHRS ix. 5 ff.

ASHBROOK

Aschebroc, Ashebroke 1287 *Ass*

Self-explanatory.

BEANCROFT (Fm)

cf. *Benhull* 1232 FF

Beans were evidently a common crop in Marston.

GREEN LANE'S CROSSING (6")

Grenelanehull 14th (15th) *Newn* 138 b

Probably the same 'green lane' is referred to in these two names.

HUNGERHILL (Fm)

Hungerhull 14th (15th) *Newn* 137 b

'Hunger-hill,' a common term of reproach for barren ground, *v. Weekley* as under *Beggary supra* 55. Cf. *Hungerhyll* in Biggleswade (13th), *Hungirhill* in Flitwick (13th), *Hungerhul* in Ellington (1322).

MARSTON THRIFT

boscus del Frith de Merston 1287 Ass

v. fyrhpe. For the form, cf. Salem Thrift *supra* 30.

ROXHILL

Wrocheshola 1180 P (p)

Wrokeshala 1186 P (p)

Wrochishill 1195 FF(P)

Wrokeshull 1219 FF, 1242 Fees 892 (p), 1347 Cl, 1348 Ipm

Wrogxhulle 1220 LS

Wroxill 1240 Ass

Wroxhull 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1253, 1258 FF, 1276, 1287 Ass,
1313 Ipm, 1346 FA, 1393 IpmR, 1428 FA

Wroxhill 1247 Ass, 1492 Ipm

Roxwell Eliz ChancP

'Wrocc's hill.' The pers. name *Wrocc* is not on record in OE but must be inferred from *Wroxall* (Wt), KCD 768 *Wroccesheale*, and (Wa), *Wroxton* (O), *Wroxham* (Nf), *Wraxall* (W), earlier *Wrockeshale* (Ekblom, PN W). For this name *v. Zachrisson* in *Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap* ix. 124.

SHELTON

Es(s)eltone 1086 DB

Sheltune 1197 FF

Selton 1202 Ass

Shelton 1227, 1240 Ass

Schelton 1262 FF

This has the same history as *Shelton supra* 19.

WOOD END

le Wodende 14th (15th) *Newn* 139

Self-explanatory. The district is on the western side of the parish.

Maulden

MAULDEN 95 A 8

Meldone 1086 DB, 1287 Ass

Meudon 1152-8 NLC

Maldon(e) 1163-79 BHRS i. 120, c. 1186-95 NLC, 1220 LS
et passim

Maudon(a) 1179 P, 1219 FF, 1242 Fees 887

Mealdon 1180 P (p)

Meaudun, Meaudon 1195 Cur(P), 1238 FF

Malden(e) 1388 Cl, 1428 FA, 1568 BM

Maldoun 1518 *Award*

Maulden c. 1550 *Linc*

Skeat's explanation that it is a *dun* marked by a *mæl* or cross is no doubt correct. It is the same name as Maldon (Ess). Some of the early forms are curiously Gallicised, perhaps because the alien priory of St Faith of Longueville held land there.

BREACH

ate Brache 1307 *Ass* (p)

For this element *v.* Grove Farm *supra* 69 and *bræc*.

KING'S FARM

A thegn of King Edward, two sokemen of King Edward and (TRW) 'a certain king's Bailiff' held land in Maulden, and one or other of these holdings may have given rise to the name.

LIMBERSEY [liməsi]

Limboldeshey R i (1285) Ch

Limbode(s)heie, Lymbodeshey(e) 1200, 1201 Cur, 1202 FF,
1227 Ass, 1286 *For*

Limboteshey 1302 FA

Lymbotesey 1331 QW, 1346 FA

Lymbottyshey, Lymbottes Heye 1535 VE, 1549 Pat

Limersey 1766 J

'Linbeald's (or Lindbald's) enclosure' *v.* (ge)hæg. This name like *Breach* suggests that we are here in ancient woodland. Other *hays* in this parish were Eadmær's (1254 BHRS viii. 220 *Admereshey*, 1600 *Deed, Admersey Leas*) and Toli's (*Tholeshey* 1230 FF, *Tolyeshey* 13th AD iv). Limbold shows early assimilation of *nb* to *mb*, followed later by loss of *l* from the consonant-combination *lds*. *Lin* names are not common in OE or indeed in the Germanic languages generally. In OE we only have *Linbald* in DB and *Linxi* (DB) and *Lynsige*, the name of a late moneyer, both of which forms would seem to go back to OE *Linsige*. These names are probably of continental origin, cf. *Maðelpert* in Meppershall *infra* 171.

Millbrook

MILLBROOK 84 J 6

Melebroc 1086 DB, 1185 (c. 1200) *Templars*, 1285 Ipm

Molebroke R i (1286) Ch, 1290 Cl

Mulebrok 1220 LS, 1276 *Ass*, 1284 FA, 1287 *Ass*, 1302 FA

Millbrook 1227 *Ass*

Melebrok(e) 1247 *Ass*, 1253 Abbr, 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1293 Ch,
1316 FA

Mulbrok(e) 1291 NI, 1311 Ipm, 1364 IpmR, 1395 Cl

Melabroc 1291 Tax

Melbruk 1323 Cl

Melbroke 1330 Ipm

Milbrok 1346 FA, 1350 Ipm

Milebrok 1362 Cl

Milbrouke 1363 IpmR

Mullebr(o)ke 1366, 1395 Cl

Milbrooke 1428 FA

Temple Millbrook 15th HMC iv

Self-explanatory. Cf. *mylenbroc* BCS 675. The Knights Templars held a manor in Millbrook (1286 QW).

HAZEL WOOD (lost)

Hesilwode 1330 Ipm

Hazel Wood Lane 1766 J

Self-explanatory.

MOOR PLANTATION

la More 1330 Ipm

Self-explanatory.

Ridgmont

RIDGMONT [rigmǽnt] 95 A 5

Rugemund 1227 *Ass*

Rogemund 1276, 1287 *Ass*

Rychemund 1276 *Ass* (p)

Rugemunt 1286 Dunst, 1355 Cl

Richemond 1287 *Ass*

Rugemond 1316 FA

Rougemont 1349, 1356, 1368 Cl

de Rubeo Monte 1349, 1358 Cl

Rouge Mount 1368 Cl

Regmond, Regemont 1526 AD i, 1530 LP

Richmount 1527 LP

Ridgemon, Rydgemonde 1535 VE, 1549 Pat

A Norman-French name descriptive of the sandstone ridge on which the village stands. There is a definitely reddish tinge in many layers of this sandstone. Similarly, Rougemont, the hill of the Norman castle at Exeter, is named from the rich hue of the New Red Sandstone rocks (MS note of Professor Earle), while Mountsorrel (Lei) is named, as Mr Bruce Dickens reminds us, from the pinkish granite quarried there. The later phonological development into *Ridgmont* has probably been affected by a desire to associate the name with the very definite *ridge* which marks the site.

BECKERINGS PARK

Bickrings Park 1766 J

John de Bekeryng, who presumably came from Beckering (L), held one-fifth knight's fee in Segenhoe in 1346 (FA).

BROGBOROUGH

Brockeberg(h) 1222 FF, 1240 Ass, 1286 Dunst

Brokebergh, Brokesbery 1247 Ass

Brokeberwe 1261 Abbr

Brockeborewe 1308 Ipm

Brock(e)burwe 1324 Ipm, Cl

Brokkebergh 1328 Cl

Brok(e)burgh 1331 QW, 1388 Cl

Brockeburgh 1331 QW, 1354 Ipm

Broybury, Broybiry 1363, 1383 Cl

Brokboroughe 1389 IpmR, 1396 Cl

Brockborough 1509 AD v

Brobury 1525 LP

OE *brocc-beorg* or *brocca-beorg*, 'badger-hill' or 'badgers' hill.' It is tempting to take the name as from OE *brocen beorg*, 'broken hill' (cf. Brokenborough (W)), which would aptly describe its outline, but the fairly frequent *ck* and *kk* in early forms seem to make this impossible. *v.* *brocc*, *beorg*.

NORTH WOOD (lost)

Norwde 1193 FF*Nortwde* 1250 FF

Self-explanatory.

SEGENHOE (Manor) [segnou] olim [sed3nou]

Segenehou 1086 DB*Segenho(u)* 1220 Ass, 1224 FF *et passim**Sekenho* 1234 (13th) *Dunst**Seggenhou* 1247 Ass*Seginho* 1286 *Dunst**Segonho* 1346 FA*Sedgynhoe* 1526 AD i*Segnoo, Segnow* 1526 LS, 1576 Saxton, c. 1750 Bowen*Segnew* 1527 LP*Sedgenow* 1535 VE

'Segga's hoh or spur of land.' For this pers. name, cf. Seckloe (PN Bk 16).

WINTER WOOD

Wintreho 1193 FF*Winterho* 13th *Dunst**Wintroe Corner* 16th VCH iii. 321

'Wintra's hoh.' The pers. name *Winter*, *Wintra* is well established in OE and lies behind Winteringham and Winter-ton (L), Wintringham (Hu, Y).

Steppingley

STEPPINGLEY 95 A 6

Stepigelai 1086 DB*Stepingelea* 1167 P*Stepingele(gh)* 13th *Dunst*, 1202 Ass, 1220 LS, 1276 Ass (p), 1302 Cl*Steppingele(gh)* 13th *Dunst*, 1202, 1227 Ass*Stepyngle, Stepingle* 13th *Dunst*, 1202 Ass, 1227 FF, Ass, 1276 Ass, 1284 FA, 1287 Ass, 1316, 1346 FA, 1390-2 CS, 1433 AD vi*Stebbingele(gh)* 1214 FF, 1227 Ass

Stebbingale 1240 Ass

Steppingle 1242 Fees 867, 1323 Cl

Stypingle 1405 Inq aqd

This must be from OE *Stēapinga-lēage*, *v.* *leah*. There is evidence for an OE pers. name *Stēapa*, the name being found in an abstract of a late 10th cent. document entered in the *Liber Eliensis*, a source which supplies good forms of other rare pers. names. This would explain Steeping (L). There is however an alternative possibility. Steppingley is on a well-marked hill. An OE *Stēapingas*, 'people on the slope,' is a possibility. The OE adj. *stēap* may have early been used as a substantive in p.n. (cf. Steep (Ha), which goes back at least to the 13th cent.) and an *-ingas* formation even from the adj. direct is not impossible.

FROGHALL

Froghole 1853 O

Wilshamstead

WILSHAMSTEAD [wilstəd] 84 H 8

Winessamestede 1086 DB

Wilsamstud a. 1181 (13th) *Dunst*

Wyleshamstede 1220 LS, 1287 Ass, 1291 Tax

Wilchamstede 1239 FF

Wilshamstede, *Wyl-* 1240 FF, 1276 Ass *et passim*

Wilhamstede, *Wyl-* 1242 Fees 868, 1247, 1276 Ass

Wilsamstede 1247 Ass

Wilhampstede 1372 Cl

Wyllsamsted 1526 LS

Wilsumstead 1675 Ogilby

Wilstead 1780 Jury

'Wil's homestead' *v.* *hamstede*. Cf. Zachrisson, *Some English PN Etymologies* 4. The weak form *Willa* is well established. It looks as if there were also a strong form *Wil* formed directly from the first element of such names as *Wilbeorht*.

The DB form stands alone, and as AN confusion of *l* and *n* is fairly common it should probably be rejected.

WILSHAMSTEAD COTTON END (6")

Westcote, Westcota 1086 DB *et passim*

Cotes 1228 FF, 1284 FA

Cot(e)nes 1247 Ass

Westcotes 1247, 1287 Ass

Welleshamsted cum Wescote 1287 Ass

Wescote juxta Wyleshamstede 1287 Ass

The various forms of the second element of this name can be explained as in EPN *s.v.* cot, except for *Cotenes* which is from the dat. pl. coten (OE cotum) with the plural suffix *es* added when the name was not understood. *West* not in relation to the parish but to Cardington Cotton End. *v. infra* 91.

Wootton

WOOTTON 84 G 6

Otone 1086 DB

Wutton 1197 FF *et passim* to 1397 Cl

Wotton 1223 FF *et passim*

Wuttun Hy 3 (1317) Ch

Woutton 1304 Ch

'Wood-farm' *v.* wudu, tun.

HALL END

Hallend Edw 3 (15th) *Newn* 142

Self-explanatory.

Hoo (Fm)

le Hoo 1242 Fees 885

Hoo 1276 Ass

Ho 1303 KF (p)

Wottonhoo 1400 IpmR

v. hoh.

KEELEY LANE

Gyldelewode 1446 IpmR

The identification is not certain. If it is correct we may compare, for confusion of initial *c(k)* and *g*, the history of Catsey Wood *supra* 35.

WOOTTON BOURNE END

Wuttonebourne, Wuttebourne, hamelettum de 14th (15th) *Newn*

137

Bone End 1826 B

So named from the little stream (*v. burna*) which forms the boundary of Wotton parish on the north-west.

WOOTTON BROADMEAD

Brodemade 14th (15th) *Newn* 139

v. mæd. Self-explanatory.

WOOTTON PILLINGE [pild3]

Driepelenge 1284 *Newn* 53

Peling(e), Pelyng, Pellyng, Pellinge 1287 *Ass* (p)

Peling in Wottone 1311 *Ipm*, 1347 *BM*

Pelynge 1434 *IpmR*

Pelyng 1445 *IpmR*

Wotton Pillage *Eliz ChancP*

One cannot carry the name of this place (and that of the neighbouring Pillinge in Marston) further than is suggested by Ekwall who (PN in *-ing* 162) derives it from an OE pers. name *Peol*, *Piol*, evidenced in *Pioles clifan* (BCS 1282), Pelham (Herts) and Pelsall (St) which is found in the Wolverhampton Charter, Dugd. vi. 1444, as *Peoleshale* together with a *Peolesford*. If this is its history it is to be taken as a formation in *-ingas* (cf. EPN 41 foot) and means '(settlement of) Peola's people.' For the pronunciation, cf. Lymage *infra* 270. In the first reference the place is called 'dry.'

V. WIXAMTREE HUNDRED

Wichestanestou, Wichenestanestou 1086 DB

Wixtanestre 1162 P

Wic(h)stanestre 1163, 1169 P, *Wich Stanestre* 1175 P

Wicstanistre 1173, 1175 P

Wichstonestre 1176 P

Wixtonestre, Wyxtonestre 1183 P, 1287 *Ass*, 1316, 1346 FA

Wikestonestou 1185 P

Wicstanestan 1191 P

Wistanestre 1202 *Ass*, 1276 *Ass*

Wykestanestre 1247 *Ass*

Wyston(e)stre 1284 *FA*

Wyxtontre 1428 *FA*

Wixantre 1549 *Pat*

OE *Wihstānes-trēo*, 'Wihstan's tree,' the reference being to the tree by which the Hundred met. This name is found in the forms *Wihstan*, *Weohstan*, *Weoxtan* in *ASC*. For such tree-names, *v.* Mawer, *PN and History* 23, and *cf.* Willey Hundred *supra* 25. For the substitution of *stow* for *tree* *cf.* Redbornstoke Hundred *supra* 66 and *cf.* Bunsty Hundred (*Bk*) which has the same suffix. The site of the Hundred meeting-place is unknown.

Blunham

BLUNHAM 84 *F II*

Blunham 1086 *DB*, 1220 *LS*, 1227 *Ass*, 1247, 1276, 1287 *Ass*,
1309 *Ch et passim*

Bluneham 1086 *DB*, 1240 *FF*, 1247, 1303 *Cl*

Bluham 1227 *Ass*

Blowenham 1250 *Pat*, 1287 *Ass* (*p*)

Bluenham 1276 *Ass*

Blounham 1276 *Ass*, 1287 *Ass* (*p*), 1316 *FA*, 1325 *Ipm*, 1331
Fine, 1345 *Cl*, 1346 *FA*, 1347 *Cl*, 1355, 1360 *Ipm*, 1376,
1395 *Cl*, 1401 *IpmR*, 1428 *FA*, 1517 *AD vi*, *c.* 1550 *Linc*

Blonham 1276 *Ass*, 1584 *AD v*

Blownham 1314 *Ch*, 1526 *LS*

Blownam 1425 *BM*

Bleweham 1527 *BM*

Bloneham 1531 *BM*, *c.* 1550 *Linc*

Bloungham 1629 *BM*

v. ham. The first element is probably a pers. name. Professor Ekwall agrees that no certainty can be attained but suggests the possibility of an OE *Bluwa* cognate with the pers. name found in OHG *Pluwenhofen*, *Pluvileshusirum*.

Cardington

CARDINGTON [kæriŋtən] 84 *F/G 9*

Chernetone 1086 *DB*

Kerdinton, *Kerdynton* *c.* 1190 *HMC*, *Var vii*, 1227 *Ass*, 1247
Ass, 1254, 1257 *FF*, 1274, 1302, 1338 *Ipm*, 1428 *FA*

Kardinton 1220 LS, 1227 Ass

Kerdintuna Hy 3 (1304) Ch

Cherdyntona Hy 3 (1317) Ch

Kerdington, Kerdynghon 1247 Ass, 1276 RH, Ass, 1287 Ass,
1304 Ch *et passim* to 1428 FA

Kerenton al. *Kerynton* 1286 Ipm

Kardington, Cardynghon 1287 Ass, 1440 IpmR

Carington 1535 VE, 1549 Pat

Careington 1638 Cai

'Cærda's farm' *v. ingtun*. This name, like Cardington (Sa), Cardwell (D), seems to contain the same pers. name that is found in Charndon and Chartridge (Bk), but the absence of palatalisation is difficult. For this pers. name cf. *Cardanhlæw* (BCS 877, orig. 10th cent. charter), *Cærdan-*, *Cerdan-hlæw* in Berks (BCS 963, 12th cent. MS). For the possibility of forms with and without palatalisation *v.* the evidence for *Card-*, *Cerd-* names set forth by Stevenson in EHR xiv. 34 n. Professors Ekwall and Zachrisson would prefer to derive this from OE *Cēnrēdingtūn*, through an assimilated form *Cerredingtun*. In this case the early *Card-* forms offer difficulties.

CARDINGTON COTTON END

v. Eastcotts *infra* 90.

Cople

COPLE 84 F 9

C(h)ochepol 1086 DB

Cogopol c. 1150 BM

Coggepol(e) c. 1150 (c. 1230) *Warden* 84, 1196, 1202, 1207,
1211 FF, 1227 Ass

Coggispol 1195 P

Cogepol 1202 FF, Hy 3 BM

Cokepol 1227 Ass

Cokkepol, Cockepol c. 1230 WellsL

Cowepol 13th (15th) *Newn* 186

Coupel 1240 Ass, 1247, 1276 Ass

Coupol(e) 1247 Ass, FF, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 NI, 1307 Ass,
1311 Ipm, 1316 FA, 1327 Cl, 1347 BM, 1382 Cl

Caupel, Caupol 1247, 1276 Ass

Coupul 1361 Cl

Coupulle 1388 Cl, 1428 FA, 1434 IpmR

Coupell 1402 BHRS i. 103

Coupehill 1461 IpmR

Copull or *Coupull* 1509 LP

Coople c. 1530 *Linc*

Cowple 1535 VE

Cowpull 1535 VE

Copull 1549 Pat

It would seem possible to explain this difficult name if we assume that the man from whom the pool took its name (*v. pol*) was called *Cogga*, a name found in *Cocgganhyll* (So) BCS 670, *Cogganbeam* (Ha) BCS 1200, and *Cogan mære* (Ha) BCS 1080, and (in a strong form) in Coggeshall (Ess) and also Cogswell *infra* 98. The DB form and the isolated form with *k* in 1227 could be explained naturally by unvoicing of *g* to *k* before *p*. This pers. name *Cog(g)a* is presumably related to OE *Cugga*, which may be inferred from Cogenhoe (Nth), *Cughanhocg* (12th cent.).

Alternatively, but in view of the forms less probably, we might start from a personal-name *Cocca* such as is found in Cockbury (Gl), *Coccanburh* BCS 246, and then take the *g(g)* forms to show the same voicing of intervocalic *k* which is illustrated in Eggington *infra* 121 and possibly in the adjacent Moggerhanger. Cf. also Cogshall (Ch), DB *Cocheshull*, 1287 *Cogeshull*. Professor Ekwall suggests further that just as stopped *d* may become continuant *ð*, and *b* become *v* (cf. Pavenham *supra* 36), so stopped *g* might become a continuant *g* and then quite regularly form a diphthong with the preceding *o*. This would explain the later *ou* forms. For the combination of *pol* with a pers. name cf. Widmerpool (Nt), where *pol* is preceded by OE *Widmæ̃r*.

COPLEWOOD END

boscus de Coupel 1276 *Ass*

Eastcotts

EASTCOTTS [i'stkəts] (6")

Cotes 1220 LS, 1227 *Ass*

Estcotes 1240 *Ass*, 1393 Cl

Escotes 1382 Cl

Escotts 1780 Jury

'The parish takes its name from the "cotes," now represented by Cotton End in Cardington, called "east" in distinction from the "cotes" in Wilshamstead, once known as *Westcotes* (v. *supra* 86) now as "Wilshamstead Cotton End."

In this parish we have mention in the Newnham Cartulary (189) of a *Cotingebroc*. This is an interesting illustration of the use of the suffix *ingas* to denote the inhabitants of a place, for it is clear that this is from OE *Cotingabrōc*, 'brook of the dwellers at the cotes.'

EXETER WOOD

This owes its name to the fact that one of the Cardington manors was in the hands of Lord Exeter's family from 1577-1879 (VCH iii. 235).

FENLAKE

Fenlak(e) 1247, 1276 *Ass*

'Marsh stream' v. *fen*, *lacu*.

HARROWDEN

Herghetone, *Hergentone* 1086 DB

Harewedon 1166 P, 1202, 1227 *Ass*, 1276 *Ass*

Harwedon 1227 *Ass*, 1247 *Ass*, 1393 Cl

Harwdon 1247 *Ass*

Harudon 1276 *Ass*

Haroudon 1276 *Ass*

Harouden 1287 *Ass*

This would seem to have the same history as Harrowden (Nth) and to be a compound of *hearg* and *dun*. If so it must have been, like Harrow (Mx), a place for heathen worship in ancient days, with a sacred grove or shrine. Cf. Harrowick *supra* 14.

Moggerhanger

MOGGERHANGER [mɔːrhæŋə] 84 F 10

Mogarhangre 1216 Cl

Moggehangre 1220 LS

- Mogerhanger* 1240 FF, 1247 *Ass*, 1262, 1270 FF, 1276 *Ass* (p),
 1284 FA, 1289 Ipm¹, 13th AD iii, 1316 FA, 1327 Ipm, 1346
 FA, 1351 BM, 1358 Cl, 1428 FA
Mokehangre 1242 Fees 870
Moukeraungre 1276 *Ass* (p)
Mokerhanger, -re 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1290 Cl, 1370 IpmR,
 1389 Cl, 1398 IpmR
Mougerhanger 1287 *Ass*
Mogerhanger al. *Mouerhanger* 1289 Ipm
Moggurhangger 1347 AD vi
Mokerangre 1394 Cl
Moker Aungre 1394 IpmR
Mogranger 1474 IpmR, 1535 VE
Mogreangre 1488 Ipm
Mogeranger 1517 AD vi, 1535 VE
Mowgranger 1629 BM
Morehanger 1675 Ogilby
Muggeranger c. 1750 Bowen
Muggerhanger 1780-1830 Jury *passim*

The second element in this name is *hangra*. The first offers great difficulties. Pursuing the same line of phonological development which was suggested under Cople, Professor Ekwall would start from a name beginning with *Moker-* or *Muker-*, take the *g(g)* forms as due to intervocalic voicing, and the *Mouer-* of 1289 and the modern pronunciation as *Morehanger* to be due to continuant *g* developing from earlier stopped *g*. For *Muker-* itself he suggests possible affinities with ME *mukeren*, 'to hoard,' whence perhaps *muker*, 'miser,' though the regular form seems to be *mukerer*. Was it possibly 'misers' wood' from an ancient hoard discovered there?

The local pronunciation has been preserved in Morhanger House in the parish of Moggerhanger (cf. the reverse process in *Attingham* Hall in Atcham (Sa), where the name of the Hall preserves the fuller form).

CHALTON

- Cerlentine* 1086 DB
Cherleton 1173 P, 1242 Fees 870, 1331 QW, 1428 FA

¹ Writ endorsed *Morhanger* in a contemporary hand (G.H.F.).

Cherlton 1227 Ass (p)
Charleton 1240 FF, 1287 Ass, 1535 VE
Chelton 1242 Fees 894
Chauton 1250 Ch
Chaltone 1276 Ass, 1333 Ipm, 1369 Cl
Chaulton 1766 J
 v. ceorl, tun.

SOUTH MILLS

Sudmille 1220 LS (p)
South Mulne 1245 Ipm
Suth Mulne 1270 FF
Suthmulle 1276, 1287 Ass
Suthmilne 1276 Ass
South Milne 1361 Cl
 Self-explanatory.

Northhill

NORTHILL [norəl]

Nortgiuele, Nortgible 1086 DB
Northgille 1185 P
Norttgifelle 13th Dunst
Northgiuel(e), -gyu- 1219 FF, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1261 FF, 1294 Ipm
Nortgylle 1242 Fees 885
Nortgiuel 1247 Ass
Northgeole 1271 Ch
Northyeuil, Northiuel 1287 Ass
Northyevel(e) 1290 Ipm, 1301, 1313 Cl, 1314 Fine, 1316 FA, 1317 Ipm, 1319 Cl, 1346 FA, 1379 AD vi, Cl, 1387 Cl
Nortgewele, Norgivill 13th AD vi
Northyvele 1303, 1364 AD vi
Northevele 1346 FA
Noryevele 1346 AD vi
Norrell al. *Northyevell* n.d. AD vi
Norrell 1443 AD vi, Eliz ChancP
Northyevyll 1470 AD vi
Northyell 1494 BHRS ii. 123
Northewell 1526 LS

Norryell, Northyell 1535 VE

Northiell 1536 BM

Norrihill 1537 AD v

Northwell al. *Norrell* al. *Northeywell* 1549 Pat

Norhill 1675 Ogilby

Northill and Southill *infra* 96 alike contain as their second element the name of the river Ivel, as shown by the forms of that river-name given above, though each village is a good two miles to the west of the river. That river-name is however certainly the source of the territorial name *Gifla* noted above (v. Introduction xviii), and Northill and Southill may be descriptive of settlements in the north and south of that territory rather than loose appellations for villages which are well away from the river itself. For the modern pronunciation we may compare Norham (Nb).

BROOK END

le Broc 13th AD iii

le Brokende 13th AD vi

Self-explanatory.

BUDNA

Budenho(u) 1169 P (p), 1202, 1227 Ass, 1232 FF *et passim*

Buddenho 1195 P (p), 1276, 1287 Ass (p)

Bodenho 1276 Ass (p), 1390-2 CS (p)

Boddenho 1297 SR (p), 1344 AD vi

Buddinho 1337 AD vi

Bodynho 1416, 1424 AD vi

Budno E 4 AD iii

Budenow al. *Bodenho* 1519 AD vi

Budnow 1539 AD v

Budnall, Budnoo 1549 Pat

'Bud(d)a's hoh' or spur of land, *Bud(d)a* being a well-established OE name.

CALDECOTE (Upper and Lower) [ka'kət]

Caldecot(e) 1197 FF, 1227 Ass *et passim*

Kaldekote c. 1200 (c. 1230) Warden 81 b

Caudecot(e) 1202 FF, 1276 Ass (p)

Caldecote, Magna et Parva 1234 Cl

Nethere Caldecote 1351 AD iii

Overe Caldecote 1363 AD ii

Calcut 1513 AD vi

'Cold cottages,' so called from their exposed situation. *v.* ceald, cot.

COLLEGE POND and WOOD

This is the last trace of the fact that Northill Parish Church became a collegiate church in 1404 (Pat).

HATCH

la Hache 1232 FF, 1247 Ass

la Hacche 1247 Ass

Hattche 1539 AD vi

cf. *le Hacchedich* (1259 AD vi)

v. hæcc. The compound *hacchedich* found in the same area suggests that the hatch here was some kind of floodgate or sluice.

HILL LANE

le Hul 1460 AD ii

Self-explanatory.

ICKWELL

Ikwelle c. 1170 (c. 1230) *Warden* 82

Gikewelle, Gyk- c. 1180 (c. 1230) *Warden* 82, 1202 Ass, FF,
1247 Ass, 1261 FF, 1276 RH, Ass, 1286 Dunst

Chikewelle, Chyk- 13th *Dunst*, 1202 Ass, 1260, 1262 FF

Gigewell 1202 Ass

Gikeswell 1227 Ass

Jekewelle 1240 Ass, 1346, 1428 FA, 1457-8 BM

Yikewell 1287 Ass

Yekewell 1287 Ass, 1434 IpmR, 1457-8 BM

Gekyewelle 1360 AD iii

Zykwell 1379 AD vi

Zekewell 1400 IpmR

Ikwell 1552 AD vi

The early forms of this name point clearly to a pers. name *Gica* or *Gicca*. For the possibility of such a name reference may be made to the history of Kickle's Farm (PN Bk 22). Hence 'Gic(c)a's stream or spring' *v.* *wielle*.

THORNCOTE

Thornecote 1206 FF *et passim*

Thurnecot n.d. AD vi

Thurnekote 1300 AD iii

Thorncut 1780 Jury

'Cote(s) by the thorn-bush' *v.* *þorn, cot.*

Shefford Hardwick

SHEFFORD HARDWICK 84 J 18

Herd(e)wik 1227 Ass

Herdewich 1227 Ass

Herdwyk juxta Sheford E 2 Orig

v. *heordewic*. It is clearly a pastoral settlement from the manor of Shefford.

COLLINS GROVE

Collins Grove 1374 AD i

Southill

SOUTHILL [SAðil] 84 H 11

Sudgiuele, Sudgible 1086 DB

Sudgill 1197 FF

Sutgivel(e) Ri (1286) Ch, 1214 FF

Sugivel(e), Suziuele, Sugyvel 1215, 1219 FF, Hy 3 BM

Sutgylle 1242 Fees 885

Suthgiuel, Suthgyvel c. 1200 (c. 1230) *Warden* 87 b, 1219, 1247 FF, 1282, 1329 Cl

Suthyeu(e)le 1227 Ass, 1276 Ass, 1316 FA, 1327 Cl

Suggivel 1229 Cl, 1247 Ass

Suggeuel 1247 Ass

Sut(h)yvell 1273 Ipm, 1287 Ass

Sugul, Sugil 1276 Ass

Southyevel(l) 1338, 1342, AD v, 1346 FA, 1381, 1388 Cl, 1391 AD v, 1399 Ch, 1428 FA, 1451 BM

Southyevill 1400 CS

Southiell, Southyell 1515 LP, 1535 VE, 1548 Pat

Southwell 1518 Award, 1582 Cai

For the explanation of this name, *v.* Northill *supra* 93.

BROOM

Brume 1086 DB

Brome Hy 2 (c. 1230) *Warden* 94, 1202 Ass

So called from the abundance of the plant. *v.* brom.

FOXHOLE COVERT

Overfoxehole 13th AD ii

Self-explanatory.

GASTLINGS

Katelynesbury 1367 Orig

Gatelynesbury 1370 IpmR

Gaslins 1648 NQ iii

This is a manorial name (*v.* burh). Already in 1250, Sir Geoffrey Gacelin held land in Southill (Ipm). The *t* in the first two forms may well be a mistake for *c*.

ROWNEY

Rueye R i (1286) Ch

Runheye 1252 Ch

Roun(h)ey 1291 Tax, 1297 SR (p)

Roundhey 1535 VE

This is from OE *rūhan* (*ge*)*hæge* (dat.), 'rough enclosure,' *v.* gehæg. This suits the locality, which is a wooded one. It is definitely not an island site (*eg*) even in the widest sense of that term.

STANFORD

Stanford 1086 DB *et passim*

Stamford 1202 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1377 Cl

Staunford 1227 Ass, 1238 FF, 1247 Ass, 1346 FA

Standford 1535 VE

Standfordbury 1588 D

'Stony ford.'

Old Warden

OLD WARDEN 84 H 10

Wardone 1086 DB *et passim*, c. 1350 *Linc* (*juxta Bedeford*)

Wardun 1158 P, c. 1170 (c. 1230) *Warden* 83, 1215 BM, 1239

Orig, 1244 Ch, 1444 Orig

Waredon 1227 Ass, 1229 Cl, 1262 FF

Warden 1359 Ipm

Wardoun 1383, 1388, 1393 Cl

Old Wardon 1495 Ipm

Worden 1785, 1798 Jury

Skeat must be right in his suggestion that this is for OE weard-dun, 'watch-hill.' Cf. Warden (Nb) for a similar name.

BROOKLAND (Fm)

cf. 1422 AD vi *le Brooke*

Self-explanatory.

COGSWELL (lost)

Kokeswell 1291 Tax

Kakeswell 1407 AD vi

Coggeswell 1535 VE

It is difficult not to believe that this place was named from the same person whose name is preserved in a weak form in the adjacent village of Cople *supra* 89. It tends to support the view that *Cocca* rather than *Cogga* is the original form of that name.

HILL (Ho)

Hulle 1276 Ass (p)

Hylle 1422 AD vi, 1433 AD iii

le Hill 1440 AD v

PARK (Fm, Wood)

Grangia de Parco R i (1286) Ch

WARDEN STREET

Wardon in le Strete 1549 Pat

WARDEN (GT and LITTLE) WOOD

boscus de Wardon 1287 Ass

The last four names are self-explanatory, except for Warden Street. The *strete* on which this hamlet of Warden lies is probably that present combination of foot-path, cart-track and road which makes its way straight to Moggerhanger and thence by

Blunham to the Ivel, crossing it near Tempsford. Reference to the southward continuation of this road seems to be made in the names *Heystrate*, *Stretfurlong* in Southill (*Newn* 199 *b*). This is one of those names in which *street* is used of a road apparently not of Roman origin.

Willington

WILLINGTON 84 F 9

Welitone 1086 DB

Willitona, *Wyll-* c. 1150 BM, 1276 *Ass*, 1376 IpmR

Wilitone, *Wyl-* 1202 *Ass* (p), 1227 *Ass*, 1247, 1287 *Ass*, 1299 Cl, 1307 *Ass*, 1323 AD i, 1326 Ch, 1382 Cl, 1385 Ch, 1388 Cl

Wylinton, *Wil-* 1220 LS, 1227 *Ass*, 1276 *Ass*

Wulinton 1227 *Ass*

Wiletuna Hy 3 (1317) Ch

Wylyton 1276 *Ass*

Wel(l)inton 1276 *Ass*

Wylington 1276 *Ass*, 1327 Ipm, 1328, 1361 Cl

Wilton 1284 FA, 1287 *Ass*, 1316 FA, 1322 AD i

Welyngton 1354 Cl, 1428 FA

Wyllington, *Will-* 1457 BM, 1488 Ipm, 1539 AD v

This at first sight suggests the same personal name *Wila* which we have already found in Wilden *supra* 66, hence 'Wila's farm' (*v. ingtun*), but the earliest forms point rather to OE *welig-tun*, 'willow-farm' (*v. welig*), with later intrusive *n*.

MILL FARM

molendinum de Wiliton 1359 (15th) *Newn* 20 *b*

SHEERHATCH WOOD

Shirhacche 1369 Orig

Shirehache 1407 IpmR

Shire Hatch Wood 1826 B

The 'hatch' (*v. hæcc*) was probably a gate into the wood. The first element is presumably the OE pers. name *Scira*, though it is just possible that it may be the adj. *scir* used to describe a brightly-coloured gate. The modern form is clearly corrupt.

VI. BIGGLESWADE HUNDRED

Bichelesuorde, Bicheleswade 1086 DB

Bicheleswatere 1107 (c. 1200) Hist Mon de Abingdon ii. 101

For other forms, *v.* Biggleswade *infra* 101. Biggleswade itself lies centrally for the half-circle of parishes which form the Hundred.

Half-Hundred

WENSLOW

Weneslai 1086 DB

Wodneslawe 1169 P

Wodnislawe 1175, 1179 P

Wendelawe 1202 Ass

Wadeslowe 1247 Ass

Weneslawe 1287 Ass

This half-hundred clearly took its name from a hill or barrow (*v.* hlaw) sacred to the worship of Woden. Similar hills or barrows (OE beorg) sacred to Woden are Wednesbury (St), locally [wed3bəri], and Woodnesborough (K), locally [winzbəri]. The half-hundred included Everton, Potton, Hatley, Sutton and Sandy and is now absorbed in Biggleswade.

Astwick

ASTWICK [ɑ'stwik] 84 J 13

Estuuiche 1086 DB, 1175 P (p)

Forms with *Est-* alone are found until

Hastewik 1247 Ass

Astwyk 1316 FA, 1349 BM, 1369 Fine, 1389 AD ii

but *Est-* forms are occasionally found until

Estwyk 1436, 1443 BM

'The eastern wic or farm,' so called because it lies on the eastern border of the county.

Little Barford

LITTLE BARFORD 84 D 12

Bereforde 1086 DB, 1167 P

Berkeford 1202 Ass, 1243 FF, 1247, 1287 Ass, 1318 Ipm, 1409 AD i, 1480 IpmR, 1581 BM

Berck(e)ford 1220 LS, 1291 NI

Bercford 1247 Ass, 1250 FF

Berkford 1269 FF, 1287 Ass, 1297 SR, 1316, 1346 FA, 1355 BM, 1359 AD iv, 1387, 1393 Cl, 1390-2 CS, 1428 FA, 1576 Saxton

Berford 1284 FA

Berecforde 1346 Rams

Barkford 1415, 1509 BM, 1526 LS, 1554 FF, 1586 D, 1748 BHRS ii. 147

Barford 1539 BM

Barkford al. *Barford* 1549 Pat

OE *beorca-ford*, 'ford of the birch-trees,' *v.* *beorc*, *ford*. As the forms show, the original forms of *Barford* in the two Beds parishes of that name were quite different and we are not surprised therefore to find that the distinction of them as *Great* and *Little* *Barford* is of modern origin.

Biggleswade

BIGGLESWADE 84 G/H 12

Picheleswade 1086 DB

Bicheleswada 1132 *D and C Linc A* 1/1 no. 2, 1202 Ass

Bic(h)leswade 1175 P, 1227 Ass, 1227-9 Ch, 1229 Cl

Bikeleswade 1183 P, 1202 Ass, 1220 LS

Bickeleswade 1240 Ass, 1255 *Bodl (Bk 2)*

The forms run on these lines except for

Becleswade 1438 AD iv

Beklyswade 1480 BM

until

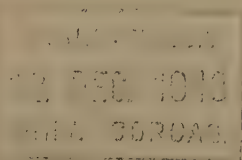
Bygelswade 1486 AD ii

Bygleswade 1535 VE

but forms with *c* or *k* are still common as in

Biccleswade al. *Biggleswade* Eliz ChancP

'Biccel's ford' *v.* *wæd*. This pers. name is not found on independent record in OE but is found in *Bigstrup (Bk)*. It is a diminutive of OE *Bicca* and has a cognate in OGer *Bichilo*.



HOLME

Holme 1086 DB *et passim*

Hulmus, Hulme 1179 P, 1198, 1199 Cur, 1211 FF, 1260 FF
(p), 1276 *Ass*

Ulmus 1199 FF

La Hume 1219 FF

v. holmr. It is almost surrounded by streams. The frequency of forms with *u* rather than with *o* is interesting as it points definitely to Danish rather than Norse influence. Cf. IPN 60.

SCROUP'S FARM (6")

Henry le Scrope died seized of land in Holme in Biggleswade in 1337 (Ipm).

SHORTMEAD (Ho)

S(h)ortemade 1276, 1287 *Ass*

Schortmede 13th AD ii

Schort(e)made 1311 AD vi, 1333 Ipm

The name is self-explanatory and is very common as a field-name.

STRATTON

Stratone 1086 DB

Stretune 1107 (c. 1200) Hist Mon de Abingdon ii. 100

Strattune 12th HarlCh 83 B 39 (p), 1199 FF

Straittune 12th HarlCh 83 A 47

Stratton 1202 FF *et passim*, under *Hungurhul* 1337 AD i, by

Bykeleswade 1383 Cl

Stretton 1247 FF, 1331 QW, 1339 BM, 1393 Cl, 1766 J

'The farm on the *stræt*.' This term is applied to the Roman road, also known as the White Way, which comes up from Baldock in Herts and makes its way ultimately to Godmanchester (cf. VCH ii. 4). The 'hunger' hill is presumably a term of reproach for the barren hill which slopes up from Stratton Farm (150 ft.) to a point on the Roman Way (225 ft.) which, significantly enough, is near a 'Bleak' Hall.

Dunton

DUNTON 84 H 13

Donitone, Danitone 1086 DB*Duniton* 1185 Rot Dom*Dunton* E 1 (1286) *Ch et passim*, (by *Bikeleswade*) 1333 Ipm*Donton* 1202 Ass, 1328 Ipm, Fine, 1504 Ipm*Dutton* 1242 Fees 869*Dounton* 1287 Ass, 1316 FA, 1328 Ipm (*Chamberleyn*), 1400 CS, 1404 IpmR*Danton* Eliz ChancP

The earliest forms with medial *i* are a little disconcerting, but in view of the uniform character of the later ones and the clear topography of Dunton, lying on a ridge, we must interpret the name as from OE *dun* and *tun* and take it to mean 'hill-farm.' The Chamberlain family held land here as early as 1210 (VCH ii. 212) and were the same family that gave their name to Compton Chamberlayne (W). *v.* Addenda.

MIDDLESEX (Fm)

Myddelsex 1444 AD ii

The solution of this difficult name is perhaps to be found in an entry in *Miscellaneous Inquisitions* (1327)¹. In that year Robert of Baldok, archdeacon of Middlesex, died seized of the manor of Stanbridge in virtue of a fine. The manor ought to remain to Richard son of John le Chamberleyn and Margaret his wife. Stanbridge is on the other side of the county, but as the manor of Dunton was in the 14th cent. also in the possession of the Chamberlain family it seems possible that this manor also may have come into the possession of the archdeacon of Middlesex and that he left his name in this farm.

MILLOW

Melnho 1062 (12th) KCD 813, 1202 Ass, FF, 1247, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1307 Ipm, 1331 QW, 1363 Cl, 1401 IpmR*Melehou* 1086 DB*Mul(e)nho* 12th c. *HarlCh* 83 B 39 (p), 1276, 1287 Ass, 1316 FA, 1342 AD vi, 1346 FA, 1351 Ipm, 1428 FA*Melho* 12th c. *HarlCh* 83 A 47 (p), 1253 Ch

¹ For the solution we are indebted to Miss E. G. Withycombe.

Milcho 1201 Cur

Mulho 1204 FF, 1227 Ass

Miln(e)ho 1247, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1307, 1372, 1394 Cl, 1423
BM, AD i, 1552 BM, Eliz ChancP

Milho 1276 Ass

'Mill-hill' *v.* hoh, myln.

NEWTON

Newtonbury 1504 Ipm

'The manor house by the new farm,' the manor being that otherwise known as *Chamberlainesbury* from its holders.

Edworth

EDWORTH 84 J 13

Edeuorde 1086 DB

Eddewrþe, *Eddewrth* 1198 FF (p), 1232, 1247 FF

Eddewurþe 12th HarlCh 83 B 39 (p)

Eddeworth 1202 Ass, E 1 BM, 1276 Ass, 1295 Cl, 1297 Ipm,
SR, 1299 Ipm, 1306 Ch, 1307, 1315 Ipm, 1333 AD iii,
1346, 1428 FA

Edewrth 1202 Ass

Eddewurth 1227 Ass, 1242 Fees 882

Edeworthe 1276 Ass (p), 1324 Ipm, 1325 Cl

Edisworth 1276 Ass (p)

Edesworth 1284 FA

Edeneworth 1315 Ipm

Edworth 1355 Cl *et passim*

'Edda's enclosure' *v.* worð. This is a pet-form for an OE name in *Ēad-*, as illustrated in the passage quoted by Redin (65) from Simeon of Durham, where we have '*Edwine*, qui et *Eda* dictus est.'

Everton

EVERTON 84 E/F 12

Euretone 1086 DB, 1220 LS

Euretone 1086 DB

Euerdon 1227 Ass, 1276 Ass, 1355 BM

Euerton 1227 Ass *et passim*

'Boar-farm' *v.* eofor, tun.

Eyworth

EYWORTH 84 G 14

Ai(ss)euuorde 1086 DB*Eiwrth, Eywrth* 1202 Cur, 1227 Ass, 1276 Ass, 1290 Cl*Eyworth* 1232 Cl, 1247 Ass et passim*Eywrth* 1235 Cl, 1247 Ass, 1254, 1256 FF*Eyworth or Eywood* 1343 Ipm*Ayworth* 1518 BM

'Island enclosure,' as explained by Skeat. *v.* eg, *worð*. The village has water on three sides. The DB form *Aisseuorde* is corrupt.

THISTLEYGROUNDS (Fm)

cf. *Blakethistel* 1256 FF

The field-name and farm-name are probably to be associated and are self-explanatory.

Cockayne Hatley

COCKAYNE HATLEY [kōkin ætli]

Hattenleia c. 960 (13th) BCS 1062*Hættanlea* c. 960 BCS 1306*Hætlea* c. 1053 KCD 920*Hatelai* 1086 DB*Hatteleg(h)* 1172 P, 1227, 1240 Ass*Hatele(ia)* 1198 FF, 1247 Ass*Hattele* 1227 Ass, 1232 FF, 1240 Ass, 1297 SR et passim to 1450*Burihattele* 1276 Ass*Beriattele* 1360, 1394 Cl*Hatlee* 1372 Cl*Hatley* 1487 Ipm*Buryhattley* 1499 Ipm*Hatleyport* 1535 VE*Cocking Hatley* 1576 Saxton*Hatley Port or Cockayne* 1671 BM

'Hætta's clearing' *v.* leah. The OE form seems to make the existence of this pers. name certain, but it is not otherwise on record. Presumably it is a pet-form for one of the com-

pound names in *Hæð-*. The Port family were connected with Hatley as early as 1197. It passed to the Cockayne family in 1417 (cf. VCH ii. 215). 'Bury' is used in its manorial sense (*v. burh*) but is prefixed rather than, as usual, suffixed. For *Cocking*, cf. Wilden *supra* 66.

Langford

LANGFORD 84 H/J 12

Longaford 944-6 (c. 1250) BCS 812

Langeford 1086 DB, 1220 LS *et passim* to 1399 Cl

Langford 1428 FA

Langforth 1498 Ipm

Self-explanatory.

VINE FARM (6")

Vine Farm occupies an isolated position at the extreme corner of Langford abutting on Astwick, and the VCH (ii. 271) points out that this is the last trace of a vinery belonging to the manor of Astwick, mentioned in a 15th cent. lease.

Potton

POTTON 84 F 13

Pottun c. 960 (13th) BCS 1062, c. 960 BCS 1306, n.d. KCD

1352, 12th cent. *D and C Linc D* ii 90/3 no. 22, 1241 Cl

Potone 1086 DB, Hy 2 (1329) Ch

Potton 1203 FF *et passim*

Potton juxta Sutton 1384 IpmR

This would seem clearly to be 'pot-farm,' but in what sense we cannot be sure. It may be so because pots were once made there. *pot* is also used topographically to denote a deep hole or pit. Such an application is unsuitable here (unless one can apply it to a very wide and shallow depression) and the word in this sense seems to be confined to the North Country. The only use of the word in OE charters is in *pottaford* (Sf) BCS 1269. This is ambiguous as it may mean 'ford of the (broken) pots,' just as much as 'ford with the holes.' Potcote (Nth), if we may judge by the early forms, similarly, does not contain a pers. name.

Sandy

SANDY 84 F 11

Sandeie 1086 DB, 1185 P *et passim*

Sandun, Sandon 1197 FF, 1206 FF (p)

Sandee 1202 Ass

Saundee 1227 Ass

Saundeye 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1251 FF, 1276 Ass, 1294

Ipm, 1297 SR, 1309 Ch, 1325 Ipm, 1338, 1358, 1368 Cl,
1376, 1399 IpmR

Sondy 1247 Ass

Sandheye 1287 Ass

Sondey(e) 1287 Ass, 13th AD vi, 1316 FA, 1372 BM, 1394,

1395 Cl, 1400 CS, 1422 IpmR, 1428 AD vi, 1489 Ipm

Sonday 1507 BM, 1547 Pat

Sondheye 1535 VE

'Sand-island' (v. eg). There is water on two sides of Sandy and 'the Greensand...on reappearing attains a considerable elevation in the vicinity of Sandy' (VCH i. 10).

BEESTON [bi'sən]

Bistone 1086 DB, Hy 2 (Hy 3) *St Neot* 54, 1202 Ass, FF,
1206 FF, 1227 Ass

Buistona Hy 2 (Hy 3) *St Neot* 54

Beston Hy 2 (Hy 3) *St Neot* 54, 1202 Ass, 1219 FF, 1223-4 Cl,
1227 Ass, 1228, 1232 FF, 1236 FF, 1240 Ass, FF, 1247,
1276, 1287 Ass, 1299 Ipm, 1301 Cl, 1312 AD vi, 1339 AD
v, 1341 AD vi, 1346 FA, 1382 Cl, 1488 Ipm, Hy 8 BHRS
ii. 116, 1553 BM

Beeston 1219, 1247 FF, 1287 Ass, 1342 Ipm, 1376 Cl, 1382
IpmR, 1387 AD vi, 1428 FA, Hy 8 BHRS ii. 116

Bueston 1220 LS, 13th AD iii, vi

Boeston 1227 Ass

Beyston 1232 Cl, 1254 FF, Hy 8 BHRS ii. 114, 1549 Pat

Buston 1246 FF, 1247, 1276, 1287 Ass, 13th AD iii, vi, 1331
QW, 1337 AD vi, 1488 Ipm, 1515, 1553 BM

Beuston, Bouston 1276 Ass

Bystone 1276 Ass

Bestun 1276 *Ass*

Boston(a) 13th AD vi, 1346 FA

Bieston 1362 AD iii

Bayston 1535 VE

Beeson Eliz ChancP

It is difficult to attain certainty with regard to this name, but one may suggest that it is from OE *byges-tūn*, 'farm of or in the bend of the river.' This would explain the variant ME forms and suits the topography as Beeston lies in a well-marked bend of the river Ivel or (alternatively) in the well-defined south-west angle of the parish of Sandy. The only difficulty in this interpretation is that it involves a rare type of place-name compound in which the significant first element is in the gen. case, but Ritter (155) has shown clearly that the existence of such in OE place-nomenclature, at least in the case of triple compounds, cannot be denied, and there is abundant confirmatory evidence in ME field-name material even for simple compounds, e.g. *Brochiseved* (1279), *Hulkescroft* (1304), *Parkesriding* (13th), *Sturteslowe* (1269), *Holmeshurne* in these two counties.

BEESTON DEAN

le Dene 13th AD vi, 1468 AD iii

Self-explanatory.

FEN FARM

mariscus 1212 Cur

GIRTFORD [gə'fəd]

Grutford 1247, 1276 *Ass*

Grotford 1247 *Ass*

Grutteford Hy 3 BM, 1276 *Ass*, 1338 Cl

Gretford 1291 Tax, 13th AD vi

Grotteford 13th AD vi

Gyriford 13th AD vi, 1629 BM

Gretteford 13th AD vi

Gritteforde 1407 AD vi

Gyrford, Gurford 1634 BHRS i. 259, c. 1750 Bowen

'Gravel-ford' v. *greot*, *ford*.

GIRTFORD BRIDGE (6")

pontem de Gretteford 13th (15th) *Newn* 9 b

THE HASELLS

Heyseles 1291 Tax, 1402 BHRS i. 102

'Buildings by the *hay* or enclosure' *v.* (ge)hæg, sele, or from *heg*, hence 'hay-buildings,' i.e. where it is stored. Cf. *Newsells* (Herts).

KINWICK (lost)

Chenemondewiche 1086 DB

Kenemundby 1212 Cur

Kenemundewich, *Kenemundewyk* 1220 *St Neot* 54, 1242 Fees 889

Kenendewyk 1242 Fees 889

Kynemundewyk, *Kinemundewik* 1252 FF, 1287 *Ass*, QW

Kynemundeswik 1276 *Ass*

Kylmundewyk 1332 Pat

Kynwyke 1535 VE

Kinwick Field 1804 *Award*¹

'Cynemund-farm' rather than 'Cynemund's farm,' for there is a noteworthy absence of any forms with the genitival suffix. *v. wic*.

SANDY HEATH

bruera de Saunedey 1307 *Ass*

SEDDINGTON

Sudington 1306 Abbr (p)

Sodyngton 1307 *Ass* (p)

The history of this name is determined by that of a small group of Worcestershire place-names. Sinton in Grimley is *Suptun* in BCS 386, but in the 13th cent. appears as *Suthintune*, *Sudinton*. It is in the south of the parish and is in contrast to Northington in the north. Leigh Sinton in Leigh has similar ME forms and is in the southern half of the parish. Sindon's Mill (and Sinton's End in old 1-in. O.S. map) in Suckley also has the same forms and is at the south end of the parish. Sud-

¹ *v.* BHRS v. 61-73.

dington in Ombersley, with similar forms, is in the south of the parish and is in contrast to Northampton in the same parish, and Sodington in Mamble has the same history. Seddington, whose early forms are identical with those just quoted, lies on the southern boundary of Sandy parish and it is clear that it has the same history. All alike must go back to *Sūðingatun*, farm of the dwellers in the south of the parish or manor¹. *v. ingtun*. For the vowel cf. Diddington *infra* 254.

STRATFORD

Stratford 1325 Ipm

This is a ford which must have carried the Roman road, of which mention is made under Stratton *supra* 102, across one of the feeders of the Ivel at this point.

SWADING HILL

It is difficult not to believe that this hill preserves the name of the family of Thos. de *Swathyng* who in 1346 (FA) held land in the not very distant Chawston and Colesden.

Sutton

SUTTON 84 G 13

Sudtone 1086 DB

Sutton(e) 1086 DB *et passim*

Sotton 1284, 1316 FA, 1337 Fine

Sutton juxta Bicleswade 1311 BM

Soutton 1315, 1317 Ipm

Sutton Latymer 1380 Cl

'South farm' in relation to Potton.

Tempsford

TEMPSFORD 84 E 11

Tæmeseford 921 A (c. 950) ASC

Temesanford 1010 E (c. 1200) ASC

Tamiseforde 1086 DB, 1182 P, 1202, 1241 FF, 1242 Fees 869

Thameseford 1219 FF

Tameseford 1220 LS, 1227 Ass, 1246 FF

¹ For this explanation and all its details we are indebted to Mr F. T. S. Houghton, who has also shown that Siddington (Ch, Gl) and Sowton in Dunsford (D) have the same history.

Temeford 1227 Ass, 1245 Cl

Temiseford 1227 FF, Ass

Temeseford 1227 Ass, 1230 Cl, 1232, 1241, 1269 FF, 1294
Ipm, 1337 Fine

Temseford 1228 FF, 1284 FA, 1349 AD vi

Tamesford 1240 Ass, 1323 Ipm

Themes(e)ford 1240 Ass, 1259 FF, 1380 Cl

Tamseford 1247 Ass

Temesford 1247 Ass, 1262 FF, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1316 FA, 1325
Fine, 1331 Ch, 1346 FA, 1361 BM, 1363, 1380, 1395 Cl,
1400 CS, 1428 FA, Eliz ChancP

Themisford 1276 Ass

Tamysford 1276 Ass

Tempisford 1526 LS

Temysford 1551 BM

The solution of this name is to be found in mutually complementary statements made in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the *Historia Eliensis* (ed. Stewart, 139). In the former we hear of the death of earl Toglos, a Danish chieftain, at Tempsford in 921. In the Ely historian we are told that earl Toli (there is little doubt about the identity of the persons or of the events) was killed 'apud Tamensem fluvium.' It is clear from this that the Ouse, or at any rate this stretch of it, must at an earlier date have been known as the 'Thames.'

LAMBCOURT END

Lambecotes 1287 Ass (p)

Self-explanatory. *v.* cot.

MOSSBURY (Manor)

This manor takes its name from the grant made in 1332 (Pat) to John Morice, the present name being a corruption of 'Morice's bury' (*v.* burh). For the development cf. Mosborough (Db), earlier *Moresburh* (PN Db).

Wrestlingworth

WRESTLINGWORTH [resliŋwærθ] 85 F/G 1

Wrastlingewrd c. 1150 BM

Wrastlingeworde Hy 2 BM, 1198 FF (p)

- Westlingewurda* 1194 P
Wrastlingewurde 1195 P
Wrestligewurde 1197 FF
Wrestlingewurth 1212 BM
Wrastlingewurdh 1220 LS
Wrestlingeworth 1227 Ch
Wrastlingwrthe 1227 Ass
Wraxlingwurth 1232 Cl
Wrastlingworth 1232 Cl, 1234 Pat
Wrestlingwurth 1234 Cl

After this we have eight *a*- and five *e*- forms in the 13th cent., seventeen *a*- and three *e*- forms in the 14th, and *a*- forms are still the commonest in the 15th cent. We also have

- Wrestlyngworth* or *Wrastlyngworth* 1335 Ipm
Warslyngwrth 1291 Tax
Warstlyngworth 1291 NI
Wraxlingworth 1434 IpmR

For this name Skeat aptly quotes the p.n. *Wræstles hyll* or *Wrestleshyll* (Berks) found in BCS 789. These names point to an OE pers. name *Wræstel*, *Wræstla*, a derivative of OE *wræste* 'delicate, noble' or of *wræstan* 'to twist,' but no such name is known elsewhere. The whole name in OE must have been *Wræstlingaworþ*, meaning 'enclosure of *Wræstel*'s people.' *v. worð*.

VII. MANSHEAD HUNDRED

- Manesheue* 1086 DB
Manesheuid 1175 P
Mannesheued 1176 P, 1227 Ass, 1247, 1287 Ass
Mansheve 1185 P
Manesheued 1202, 1240 Ass
Mauneshede (sic) FA *passim*

Manshead Hundred is one of the few Bedfordshire Hundreds of which we know the approximate meeting place. Dr G. H. Fowler (BHRS viii. 175) found in the Eversholt Enclosure Award the following field-names: Great and Little Manshead Closes, Manshead Path Close, Manshead Short Furlong and

Manshead Field, all close to the boundary brook between Eversholt and Tingrith parishes. The site to which these field-names refer is a long and low but well-defined hill, well fitted for the meeting-place of a considerable assembly in early times. It is clear that the site of the hundred meeting-place must have been close to this stream and the idea receives striking confirmation in the name Tingrith itself (*v. infra* 134). The brook by the meeting-place must have been known as *thing-rithe*, i.e. brook of assembly. Its position is now uncentral for the Hundred, but it was roughly at the centre before Stanbridge half-hundred was added. The name means what it says, viz. 'man's head.' For its interpretation cf. Swineshead *supra* 20.

Half-Hundred

STANBRIDGE

Stanburge 1086 DB

Stanbrigge 1207 P, 1284 FA

Stanburgh 1227 Ass

Stanbrugge 1316 FA

This half-hundred takes its name from Stanbridge *infra* 132 and is now absorbed in Manshead Hundred. In DB it included Studham, Eaton Bray, Totternhoe, Tilsworth and Nares Gladley in Heath and Reach. The meeting-place would almost certainly be at the ford rather than the present village.

Aspley Guise

ASPLEY GUISE [a'spli] 95 A 4

Aepslea 969 BCS 1229

Aspeleia 1086 DB

Aspele(gh) 1202 FF *et passim*

Aspeleye Gyse 1363 Cl

'Aspen-tree clearing' *v. æspe, æps and Leah*. Anselm de Gyse held the manor for one-twentieth part of a knight's fee in 1276 (VCH iii. 339).

BERRYLANE (Fm)

Bury Lane 1530 *Dist. Prob. Reg. Northampton*, lib. iii. 35

The lane takes its name from the manor (*v. burh*).

FOTSEY (lost)

Foteseige 969 BCS 1229*Foteseye* 1247 *Ass**Fottesey* 1247 *Ass**Fodeseye* 1292 *Ch*

Probably 'Foot's island.' There is no OE name *Fōt* on record, but Foston (Lei, Nf, L, Y) and Fosdyke (L) all go back to early forms in *Fotes-*. The distribution of this last group of names suggests that they contain a pers. name of Scandinavian origin, corresponding to the ON nickname *Fótr* (*v. Lind, Binamn* s.n.). This name does not seem very probable in a Beds charter of 969 but it is not wholly impossible, and the *Fot* of the present name is probably its OE cognate. The second element is *eg*.

RADWELL PIT (6")

Rattle Pit in 18th cent. and so pronounced to-day (G. H. F.).

WENSDON HILL (6")

Wendlesdun, Wændlesdun 969 BCS 1229

No personal name *Wændel* is found in the *Onomasticon*, but there can be no doubt of its existence in OE. Mr Bruce Dickins has kindly furnished us with the following parallels: Wendlebury (C, O), Wellingborough (Nth), Wendling (Nf), Wandsworth (Sr), Wansley (Nt), all of which go back to an OE *Wændel*. In addition to these he notes the unidentified *Uuendlesclif* in Gloucestershire (BCS 246) and *Wændlescumb* (KCD 1283) in Berkshire, *Wendlesbiri* (KCD 826) in Hertfordshire and, we may add, Winslow (Berks), formerly *Wendlescliue*. There are also OE compound pers. names *Wendelbeorht*, *Wendelburh* and (possibly) *Wendelgær* containing the same element. The name is common in OGer as *Wandil* or *Wendil* and is found in Norse mythology as *Vandill*, the name of a sea-king and of a giant (cf. Lind, *Dopnamn* s.n.). It is also found as the second element in ON *Qrvandill*, the name of a giant in Norse mythology whose toe was transformed into the star known as 'Orvandill's toe.' This name is found in OGer as *Aurivandala* and is clearly the same as OE *ēarendel*, a word for the dawn. These names and the occurrence of the word *Vandilsvé*, 'Vandill's shrine,' in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* (ii, 34) unite in

suggesting the possibility that Germanic *Vandilo* was originally the name of some mythological person, and that his name, like other names of divine beings, came to be used freely in the formation of personal-name compounds, which themselves could in turn undergo the usual shortening to pet-forms and give rise to such an OE pers. name as *Wændel*. The same element is probably to be found in OE *Wendelsæ*, OHG *Wentilseo*, both used of the Mediterranean, the latter being used also as a gloss for *oceanus*. *Wentilmeri* is a similar gloss for *oceanus*, and there is also an OHG *Wentilstein*. In this last group of names Mr Bruce Dickins suggests with much probability that we have this mythological name used with intensive force to denote something great, and compares the history of the element *eormen* in OE *eormengrund*, 'mighty deep,' originally the name of a divine being. The Vandals (Lat. *Vandali*, *Vandili*) must ultimately have derived their name from this word, but exactly in what sense is not clear.

Aspley Heath

v. Aspley Guise.

THE KNOLL (6")

le Knol 1226-43 AD i

Self-explanatory. v. cnoll.

Battlesden

BATTLESDEN 95 C/D 5

Badelestone 1086 DB, 1227 Ass, 1276 Ass, 1315 Ipm

Badelesdone 1086 DB, 1152-8, 1155, 1160-5 NLC, 1179 BM,

1227 Ass, 1247 FF, 1287 Ass, 1292 Ch, 1302 FA, 1314 Cl,

1316 FA, 1361 Cl, 1397, 1399 AD i

Badelesdun c. 1160 (14th) Gest St Alb, 1220 LS, 13th *Dunst*

Badelesden 1227 Ass, 1276, 1287 Ass

Baddelesdon 1242 Fees 867

Badlesdon(e) 1247 FF, 1346 FA, 1348 Ipm, 1361 Cl

Batlesden 1254 FF, 1287 Ass, 1428 FA

Battlisden 1257 Ch

Baddesdon 1284 FA

Badlesden 1287 Ass

Baddelesden 1287 Ass
Batelesdon 1347 Cl, 1348 Ipm
Badleston 1348 Ipm, 1391 IpmR
Bat(t)elesden 1389 IpmR, 1489 Ipm
Badlysdene 1390-2 CS
Badlysdon 1526 LS
Batellesden 1535 VE

The existence of an OE pers. name *Badel(a)*, a diminutive of the recorded name *Bada*, is made certain by the p.n. *Badelan-broc* (KCD 715) and by Badlingham (C). The present name, therefore, means 'Badel's hill,' *v. dun*. The strong form *Badel* occurs again in Badlesmere (K). Sound dissimilation has done its best with this name, leading sometimes to a suffix *-ton* and later to a prefix *Batel-*.

Billington

BILLINGTON 95 E 4

Billendon 1196 P
Bilindon, Bylindon 1196 FF, 1349 BM
Billesdon 1202 PR
Bilendon, Bylendon 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass (p), 1249 FF, 1276 Ass, 1297 SR
Billington, Billyngdon 1276 Ass, 1491 Ipm
Bellendon 1276 Ass
North Billingdone 1287 Ass (p)
Belyngdone 1393 BM, 1394 AD vi
Bellingdon, Bellyngdon 1395 IpmR, 1491 Ipm
Billington 1798 Jury

'Billa's hill' *v. dun*. The later *-ing-* forms may be a corruption of earlier *Billandun* or they may be due to a new form in *-ingdun* having arisen side by side with those in *-andun*. For such formations *v. ingtun*.

Chalgrave

CHALGRAVE 95 D 6

Cealhgræfan 926 (12th) BCS 659
Celgraue 1086 DB
Chealgraue 1163-87 Merton 809

Chalgraue 1173 P, 1276 *Ass*, 1284 FA, 1291 NI, 1302, 1316,
1346 FA, 1366 Cl *et passim*

Calgraua a. 1177 (13th *Dunst*)

Chalkgrave 1220 LS, 1308 Cl

Chaugrave 1220 (13th) *Dunst*, 1242 Fees 887, 1247 *Ass*, 1257
FF, 1276 *Ass*, 1286 *Dunst*

Chaggrave 1286 *Dunst*

Chalfgrave 1346 FA

There can be no doubt that Skeat's conjecture that the first element in this name is OE *cealc* is right, for Mr Gurney in his admirable study of the bounds of Chalgrave (BHRS v. 163 ff.) shows that, somewhat unexpectedly, chalk is found here and that the shepherds in driving their stakes frequently strike hard chalk. The second element, as almost always in these *grave*-names, is not quite certain. If we may judge by the form of the name of the other ground assigned in the charter, viz. Tebworth *infra* 118, we must take *-græfan* to be in the dative. If so it could be either the dat. pl. of *græf* and the name be interpreted 'chalk-pits,' referring to some small diggings for chalk made here, or the dat. sg. of *græfe*. 'Chalk-thicket' seems however to be a somewhat unlikely name.

HILL FM

la Hulle 1297 *SR* (p)

Self-explanatory.

KIMBERWELL (local)

(*to*) *cynburge wellan* 926 (c. 1200) BCS 659

This well clearly takes its name from one *Cyneburh*, who may perhaps be identified with St Cyneburh, the daughter of Penda of Mercia, to whom it may have been popularly dedicated. (See further BHRS v. 168.)¹ She has left her name also in the Coney-burrow Way near Peterborough, while in early days the neighbouring Castor (Nth) was *Cyneburgecæstre* (BCS 871), and the church is still dedicated to her (*ex inf.* Mr Bruce Dickins).

¹ Mr St Clair Baddeley informs us that outside the former South Gate of Gloucester she was held in high veneration and a well was tragically associated with her death in one of the miracle stories of her there. She had a chapel there. The name in Gloucester became *Kimbrose*, *Kim brow*.

THE OLD BROOK (local)

þane ealdan broc 926 (c. 1200) BCS 659

v. BHRS v. 168.

TEBWORTH

Teobbanwyrþe 962 (c. 1200) BCS 659

T(h)ebbeworth 1227 Ass, 1276 Ass (p), 1286 Dunst, 1365 AD i

Tebbewurth 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass

T(h)eburthe 1286 Dunst

T(h)ebworthe 1286 Dunst, 1308 Cl

'Teobba's enclosure' v. *worþ*. The pers. name *Teobba* is not on independent record but it is clearly a pet-form for some such OE name as *þeodbeald*, *þeodbeorht* or *þeodburh* (a woman's name).

WINGFIELD

Winfeld, *Wynfeld* c. 1200 (13th) Dunst, 1225 FF, 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1276 Ass (p), 1286 Dunst

Wintfeld 13th Dunst

Winefeld, *Wynfeld* 1249 (13th) Dunst, 1286 Dunst, 1317 AD i

Wynchefeld 1276 Ass (p)

Wyndeselde (sic) 1535 VE

Winfield 1675 Ogilby

The early forms are indecisive. *Wintfeld*, *Wynchefeld*, here recorded for the first time, make Skeat's suggestion of a pers. name *Wina* unlikely. Possibly the first element is the word *wince*, used of a nook or corner, the likelihood of which was demonstrated in PN Bk 203. Wingfield does stand at the head of a little valley. If the last theory is the correct one the *ch* must early have been lost between the *n* and the *f*. It is clear in any case that the *ng* for *n* is a late corruption.

Professor Ekwall suggests that this name may be connected with the OE pers. name *Winta*. A strong genitive form *Wintesfeld*, side by side with the correct *Wintanfeld*, would, with common development of *ts* to *ch*, explain *Wynchefeld*.

Husborne Crawley

HUSBORNE CRAWLEY [*olim hāzbænd*] 95 A 8

(of) *Hysseburnan* 969 BCS 1229

Husseburn(e) c. 1200 (13th) Dunst, 1220 LS, 1227, 1247 Ass, 1249 FF, E 1 KF, 1274 Cl

- Hesseburn* 1220 (13th) *Dunst*
Hisseburn c. 1220 WellsL
Husburne, Husborne 1250 FF, 1428 FA
Husseburn (et) Crawele, Husseburn Crouleye 1276 *Ass*
Hussebourne 1291 NI
Husbond Crawley 1535 VE, 1548 Pat
Husband Crauley 1552 Inv
Husband 1615 Cai

Husborne Crawley takes its name from the union of two distinct places called Husborne and Crawley. The stream from which *Husborne* takes its name has in OE a name identical with that for Hurstbourne (Ha), which is found as *Hysseburnan* in BCS 553. Both names have undergone later corruption and the local names of Hurstbourne Tarrant and Hurstbourne Priors—Uphusband and Downhusband—show the same colloquial pronunciation that we find in the Bedfordshire p.n. The history of this stream-name is obscure. There is an OE word *hyse*, more commonly *hyse*, used to denote a young man, a warrior, and it is just possible that *Hysseburna* means 'young men's stream,' but if that were the case we should have expected *hyssa burna*, with *hyse* in the gen. pl., as it seems to be found in the only other possible compound that has been noted, viz. *hyssa pol* in BCS 595 referring to a Wiltshire place. The fact that in both cases the word is found with a word for water suggests however that it may possibly be a plant-name. Cf. *hisses* quoted in B.T. Supplement (s.v. *hyse*) as a gloss for *pampinos*. No certainty can be attained with regard to this name.

CRAWLEY

- Crawelai, Crauelai* 1086 DB
Craule(e) 1205-50 (13th) *Dunst*, 1221 FF, 1242 Fees 890,
 1287 *Ass*, 1291 NI, 1346 FA, 1368 Cl, 1428 FA
Crawele, Crauele 1227, 1240 *Ass*, 1249 FF, 1276 *Ass*, 13th
 AD v, 1316 FA
Crouleg, Crouleye 1247, 1276 *Ass*
Crowley 1530 LP
Crawley 1535 VE

'Crow clearing' (v. *crawe*, *leah*), with the same hesitation between a development to *Crowley* or to *Crawley* that was discussed under North Crawley in PN Bk 34.

Dunstable

DUNSTABLE 95 E/F 6/7

Dunestap(e)le (dat.) 1123 E (12th) ASC, 1130 P *et passim* to 1400*Dunistapla* 1173 P*Dunstable* 1189 (1227) Ch, 1199 FF *et passim* to 1766 J*Donestaple* 1202 Ass *et passim* to c. 1400*Dunnestaplia* 1224 Bract*Donestable* 1287 Ass*Dunstable* 1287 QW*Dounstable* 1307 Ass

Perhaps 'hill post or pillar' (*v. dun, stapol*), or 'pillar of the hill,' the reference being to some such erection at the spot where on open and high ground the Watling Street and the Icknield Way intersect. The situation of Dunstable, in a gap in the chalk hills of south Bedfordshire, makes derivation from *dun*, 'down,' superficially probable. On the other hand, the numerous early forms with *e* between the two elements of the name suggest that the first element is a pers. name *Dun(n)a*. To an OE *Dunnan stapol*, 'Dunna's pillar,' there are exact parallels in Barnstable (D) and Barstable (Ess), each of which represents an OE *Beardan stapol*. The medieval legend that Dunstable was so called from one *Dunning*, who had as a thief frequented the site of the future town, receives no support from the forms which are collected here (Dugd. vi. 239). It shows, nevertheless, that the men of the neighbourhood did not believe that the name was derived from the down above Dunstable, and it may possibly preserve a distorted memory of the *Dunna* who left his name to the place and, as suggested by Mr Bruce Dickins, the *i* of the 1173 form may be from a form *Dunning-stapol* with *ing* for gen. *an* (*v. ing*).

GOLDENLOW (lost)

Goldenelowe 1286 Dunst*Gyldenelowe* 1292 Fine

'Golden hill,' from OE *hlaw*, with alternative forms of the first element from OE *gylden* or ME *golden*. The source of the name is to be found in the mention in the *Annals of Dunstable* (363) of an enquiry which took place in the reign of Edward I with reference to certain treasure trove found at *Goldenelowe* in the days of Henry iii.

HOLLIWICK ST (lost)

le Hallewick 13th AD i*le Hallewyke* 1317 AD i, 1339 AD vi

This lost street ran parallel to West Street on its southern side and the VCH (iii. 350) gives a 17th cent. form *Holliwick*. This would point to OE *halig wic*, 'holy *wic*,' perhaps so called because the farm from which it took its name was monastic property, though we have no knowledge of such possession. One would have expected however ME forms with a single *l* if this were the history of the name. Cf. *Halwic*, *Halivyke* for Holywick (PN Bk 179). One might, with Professor Ekwall, take this to be OE *heallwic*, i.e. 'the dairy-farm belonging to a hall,' but this leaves the modern form unexplained.

KINGSBURY HOUSE (local)

This is the last trace of the 'domus et gardinium regis in Dunstaple,' which goes back to 1204 (ChR). *v. burh*.

Eaton Bray

EATON BRAY 95 F 5

Eiton(a) 1086 DB, 1130 P *et passim* to 1286 Dunst*Eitun* 1156 P*Æiton* 1159 P*Etton* 1164 P*Ehton* 1166 P*Eyton* 1220 LS, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass *et passim* to 1491*Eton* 1241 Cl, 1330 Ipm, 1338 Cl, 1490 Ipm

'River-farm' (*v. eg*). Eaton Bray is a district with numerous small streams and *eg* must be used in the wider sense of land well watered rather than of an actual island, as is fairly common in place-names. The feudal addition belongs to the 15th cent. when (in 1490) the manor was granted to Sir Reginald Bray (cf. VCH iii. 371).

Eggington

EGGINGTON 95 E 5

Ekendon 1195 FF, 1234(13th) *Dunst(p)*, 1276 Ass(p), 1297 SR*Ekyndon*, *Ekindon* 1276 Ass, 1341 BHRS viii. 26*Egynton* 1304 Pat

'Oak-grown hill' with the same adj. *æcen*, that was found in the lost Ekeney (PN Bk 37). Such a development of medial *k* to *g* is fairly common and is fully illustrated in PN Bk 83, *s.n.* Bragenham.

CLIPSTONE

Clipeston R i Cur

Clapston 1195 P

Clipston, Clypston 1196 P, 1247, 1276 *Ass*, 1287 *Ass* (p)

'Clip's farm.' The pers. name *Clip* is found once as the name of a 10th cent. moneyer, but the distribution of the place-names in which it is certainly found, viz. Clippesby (Nf), Clipston (Nth, Nt), Clipstone (Nf), Clipsham (R) makes it certain that the name is Scandinavian rather than English and that Björkman (ZAN 55) was right in associating it with the ON nickname *Klyppr*, which was used of some one with an awkward stumpy figure (cf. Lind, *Binamn* s.n.).

EDE WAY (local)

ðiodweg 926 (c. 1200) BCS 659

The term *ðiodweg*, a compound of *ðeod*, 'nation, people' and *weg*, is fairly common in the OE charters, and like the similar compound *ðeodherepæð* is the equivalent of what in the Latin versions of the charters is called a *via publica*. Mr Gurney (BHRS v. 169) identifies it with a wide and open green-lane on the low (greensand) ridge. To quote his own words: 'It possesses several names in different parts of its course.... At Wingfield in Chalgrave it serves as the present hard road and thence continues as a footpath to Kateshill on Watling St.... At Eggington it reappears as an unusually broad green-way, under the name of the Ede Way.' He then shows how this road ultimately makes its way to the Ouzel at *Yttingaford* (cf. PN Bk 81), locally Tiddingford Hill. One interesting point, however, he misses in his masterly treatment of the charter. The *Ede Way* represents not only the course but the actual name of the old *ðiodweg*. This last word would develop to *The dewey* in ME. Later, by a common process of misdivision, this was taken to be for *The Edewey*, and hence the modern name.

Eversholt

EVERSHOLT [evəsɔːl] 95 B 6

Eures(h)ot 1086 DB*Eversolt* (sic) 1162-79 HMC, Var iv*Euresholt* 1185 P*Euereshold* 1202 Ass*Evereshout* 1202 FF, 13th *Dunst**Everesholt* 1219 FF *et passim**Euersholt* 1221 FF *et passim**Heueresholt* 1240 Ass *et sæpe**Eversolt* 1291 NI*Eversoll* 1518 *Award**Evershold* 1526 LS*Eversoult* 1552 Inv*Eversal(l)* Eliz ChancP, 1722 NQ ii*Evershall* 1605 NQ ii'Boar's wood' *v.* eofor, holt.

FROXFIELD

Frogfield 1826 B

This p.n. almost certainly has the same history as Froxfield (Ha, W) and means 'feld of the frogs.' *v.* forsc.

HAY WOOD

Heywode 1287 Ass (p)'Enclosed wood' *v.* (ge)hæg, wudu.

WAKE'S END

Eversholt Wakes 1826 B

The last relic of a Wake Manor in Eversholt (cf. Ch 1313).

Harlington

HARLINGTON 95 C 7

Herlingdon, Herlyngdon 1086 DB, 1227 Ass *et passim* to 1428
FA

Erlingedun 1181-90 (13th) *Dunst**Herlingedune* 1181-90 (13th) *Dunst*, 1286 *Dunst**Herlingedon* 1189 P, 1223 FF, 1227, 1240 Ass

Harlingedon 1220 LS

Herlinndon 1223 (13th) *Dunst*

Herlington 1240 Ass, 1423 IpmR

Herlindon, Herlyndon 1278 Cl, 1287 Ass

Harlyngdon, Harlingdon 1489 Ipm, 1548 Pat, 1552 Inv

Harlyngton 1492 Ipm, 1526 LS

'Hill of Herela's people' *v. inga*. The *Herelingas* (*Widsith* 112) or Harlung brothers, nephews of Ermanaric the Goth, were among the most famous of the Germanic heroes. Apart from place-names however we have no evidence for the use of the name *Herel(a)* in England. In place-names it is found in Harling and Harleston (Nf), Harlethorpe (Y), Harlethorpe (Db), Harlton (C), Harlington (Y). It is clear that the name must have been passing out of use soon after the period of the English settlement, and its distribution shows it to be definitely Anglian.

GOSWELL END¹ (6")

Goseland, Gosefeld 1434 BHRS viii. 91

Gosly End 1677 ib.

It is clear that there has been a good deal of corruption going on here. The original form would seem to have been *gorstig-land*, 'gorse-grown country.' Cf. *Gostilaunde* in Eaton Socon (1226).

Heath and Reach

HEATH 95 D 4

la Hethe 1276 Ass, 1287 Ass (p)

Hethe 1297 SR

Hetheredge c. 1750 Bowen

Heathanreach 1785, 1791 Jury

v. hæð.

NARES GLADLEY

Gledelai 1086 DB

Gledele(g) 1131-41 (13th) *Dunst*, 1247 Ass, 1286 *Dunst*, 1331 QW, 1332 Ch, 1347 Ipm, 1379 Cl

Gledeleia 1176 P

¹ Other intermediate forms *Gosiland*, *Gostilaunde*, *Gosling End* are given by Mr J. H. Blundell in the article from which the first references are taken.

Gladelaia 1176 P (Chanc Roll)

Gladelea 1177 P

Gledley or *Gledeley* 1499 Ipm

There is no evidence in the charters for a topographical use of OE *glæd*, 'bright,' apart from Glatton *infra* 187. It is more probable that the present name contains a pers. name *Glæda*, from OE *glæd*, 'bright,' by the side of *glæd*, 'glad.' Cf. Ekwall in *Angl. Beiblatt* xxxiii, 67. *Nares* is presumably the name of some owner or tenant, but remains an unsolved mystery.

HATCH FARM (6")

la Hacche 1287 Ass (p)

v. hæcc. To judge by the situation the reference was rather to a gate than to a sluice or weir.

KING'S WOOD

Kyngeswode 1307 Ass

This probably gained its name when Heath and Reach was part of the royal manor of Leighton Buzzard.

REACH

Reche 1216-31 (c. 1350) Rams, 1276 Ass, 1287 Ass (p), 1321 BHRS iii. 24

Rache 1276 Ass

Rach 1669 NQ i

That the word *reche* could in ME be used in a topographical sense seems to be clear from this place and from Reach (C). It is difficult however at first to see what they have in common. Skeat says of the latter place that old maps show that it stood at the very verge of the waters of the fen-lands, on a round projection of the old shore. Reach (Beds) lies on rising ground in a shallow valley, the village lying along the road which runs up the valley. Skeat takes the word to mean a *reach* or extension of the land in the Cambridgeshire p.n., but there is really no evidence for such a use of 'reach' in Middle English. *Reach* in the sense 'that which reaches or stretches' is no older than the 16th cent. What Skeat did not notice, however, is that Reach lies just at the end of the Devil's Dyke. That dyke indeed has served its purpose when it reaches the edge of the Fens; in early days it

must however have formed a natural path of approach to Reach, which to this day is singularly inaccessible.

There is an ON *rāk*, 'stripe, streak,' which is the source of the English *rake*, 'way, path, narrow path up a cleft or ravine,' and there is a cognate *rack* from a different ablaut-grade, meaning 'narrow path or track,' of such wide distribution in the south and west of England that it must be of native English rather than Scandinavian origin (*v. rake*, sb. 2 and *rack*, sb. 1 in NED and *rack* in EDD). Possibly we may note also Wiltshire *rake*, 'row of houses,' EDD. Corresponding to either of these words there may in OE have been an OE *ræc* or *ræcc*, *jo*-stems with consequent palatalisation of the *c*. Either of these would account for ME *reche* or *rache* such as we find in the early forms of Reach. The possibility of such a derivative receives some measure of confirmation from such a noun as *rache*, *ratch* (rarely *reach*, *race*) used in English of a white streak on a horse's face, in which we note the same sense of a narrow line (NED s.n. *rache*, sb. 2, *race*, sb. 5). It may well be, if this etymology is correct, that the Bedfordshire place was so called because it lay along a steep narrow road running up a valley, and the Cambridgeshire place from the Devil's Dyke itself which was used as a *reach* or path.

Hockliffe

HOCKLIFFE 95 D 5

Hocganclif 1015 Thorpe 561

Hocheleia 1086 DB

Hoccliue, -*lyue* 1185 P, 12th HMC, Var iv, 1220 LS, 1228 FF, 1240 Ass, 1242 Fees 885, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 NI, 1302 FA, 1388 Cl

Occliue 1227 Ass, c. 1370 Linc

Houcliue 1247 Ass

Hoklyue, *Hoclyue* 1247, 1276 Ass

Hocclyve al. *Hoclyve* 1324 Ipm

Oclyve 1346 FA

Hocklyve 1428 FA

Occleue c. 1460 Linc

Hockley 1576 Saxton, 1633 NQ i, 1675 Ogilby (alias *Hockley in the Hole*)

'Hocga's cliff,' the church, which probably forms the nucleus of the original parish, standing on a steepish spur of land to the north-west of the present village. The latter well deserves its popular name of 'Hockley-in-the-Hole' for it lies along Watling Street in a well-marked depression, the road to the north-west rising from the village some 117 ft. in half a mile. It was famous for its robberies and must be distinguished from Hockley-in-the-Hole (of equally bad fame) in the Fleet valley in Clerkenwell.

Loss of final *f* is fairly common in p.n., cf. [jakli] and [kunzli], the local pronunciations of Aycliffe and Coniscliffe (Du), and *v.* PN NbDu 265. For the personal-name *Hocg(a)*, cf. Hogges-ton (Bk) and Hoxton (Mx). The poet (H)occleve must have derived his name from this place.

SHENLEY HILL (6")

Sinelehe 1276 Ass (p)

Shenle 1276 Ass (p)

'Bright clearing' *v.* sciene, leah. This is fairly common as a p.n.

Holcot

HOLCOT [həkət] 84 J 4

Holacotan (g. pl.) 969 BCS 1229

Holecote, *Holekote* 1086 DB *et passim* to 1428 FA

Hulecote 1240 Ass

Holcote 1315 Ipm *et passim*

Hulcote 1461 IpmR

Hulcott Eliz ChancP

Howcott al. *Hulcott* Eliz ChancP

Holcot lies in a small valley and the meaning of the name would seem to be 'cottages in the hollow' (*v.* holh), but it is a little difficult to see just how the OE compound is formed. It may be from the gen. pl. *hola*, hence 'cottages of the hollows' or the form may be a mistake for *holan cotan*, 'hollow cottages,' if that is a likely phrase. An OE noun *hola*, suggested by Skeat, is of very doubtful authenticity.

BROOK FARM

Broke 1287 Ass (p)

Self-explanatory.

Houghton Regis

HOUGHTON REGIS 95 E 7

Houstone 1086 DB*Hohtun, Hohton* 1156 P, 1227 Ass*Hocton* 1157 BM, 1169 P, 1239 Ch, 1247 Ass, 1249 FF*Hochtun, Hochtun* 1158 P, 1227 Ass*Houcton* 1169 P*Hoghton* 1220 LS, 1247, 1287 Ass (*extra Dunstapel*)*Houtun, Houton* Hy 3 (1317) Ch, 1242 Fees 869, 1284 FA*Kyngeshouton* 1287 Ass*Houghton Regis* 1353 Ipm

'Farm on the hoh or spur of land.' *Regis* because already in DB it was a royal manor.

BIDWELL

Budewelle 13th *Dunst*, 1228 FF, 1279 RH, 1297 SR (p)*Bedewelle* 1279 RH

'Byda's spring' *v. wielle* and cf. Biddenham *supra* 26.

BREWERSHILL (Fm)

la Bruere 1307 Ass

If this identification is correct the name should really be 'Brewer Hill' and the first element interpreted as the equivalent of ModFr *bruyère* and used of heath-land. Cf. Sandy Heath *supra* 109.

BURY SPINNEY (6'')

cf. *Buridene* 1295 FF

The spinney lies in a valley (*v. denu*) which took its name from the manor of Thorn or Thornbury (*v. infra* 129).

CALCUTT (Fm)

Caldecote 1224 FF, 1247 Ass et *passim**Caudecote* 1247 Ass

'Cold cottages,' probably from their exposed situation. *v. cald, cot.*

PUDDLE HILL

Pudele 1274 (13th) *Dunst*

Pod(d)ele 1276 *Ass*

Podele 1304 AD iii

'Puda's clearing' *v.* leah and cf. *Podington supra* 37.

SEWELL

Sewelle 1086 DB, 1260 FF

Seuwell 1193 P, 1227 *Ass*, 1228 FF, 1286 *Dunst*

Sewell 1247 *Ass*, 1260 FF

Siwell, *Sywell* 1287 *Ass* (p)

Seywell 1287 *Ass* (p), 1766 J

This is a difficult name. The only suggestion that can be offered is that the first element is a pers. name *Seofa*, not on record, but of which we have a diminutive in *Seacourt* (Berks), *Seofocanwyrð* in BCS 1002. The same name seems to occur in *Seawell* (Nth). *v.* *wielle*.

THORN

la Thorn 1225 FF (p), 1316 AD i

Thornbury 1324 Pat, 1427 IpmR

Self-explanatory. The *bury* is manorial, *v.* *burh*.

Leighton Buzzard

LEIGHTON BUZZARD 95 D/E 4

Lestone 1086 DB

Le(c)htone 1164, 1169 P, 1227, 1240 *Ass*

Lechtone 1173 P, 1202 P

Leocton 1177 P

Lecture 1194 Cur(P)

Lecton 1195 P, 1196 FF, 1202 *Ass*, 1228 Cl, 1253 AD iii

Leiton, *Leyton* 1206 FF, 1227 *Ass*

Leghton 1247, 1287 *Ass* (*Busard*)

Lachton 1264 Pat

Further forms of Leighton are without interest. For the Buzzard we may note

Bussard 1287 QW, 1321 Cl, 1656 BM

Busard 1287 *Ass*, 1297 SR, 1307 Cl, 1316 FA, 1326 Cl, 1349

BM, 1446 HMC Var iv, 1477 AD i

Bousard 1331 QW

Bosard 1355 Cl, 1447 IpmR, 1499 Ipm

Bussarde al. *Budeserte* Eliz ChancP

Beaudesert 1643 HMC v

Beudesert al. *Budezard* 1646 NQ iii

Buzard 1649 HMC v

Beuzard 1655 NQ i

'Kitchen-garden' is the meaning of OE *leactun* from which this p.n. comes. The Buzzard addition has never been satisfactorily explained. *Busard* is the name of a well-known French family, but their nearest property so far as we know was at Knotting in the north of the county. The *Beaudesert* of the later forms is clearly an antiquarian invention due to a determination to find some meaning for the name.

COLLICK (local) 'meadow and runnel'

Cochlake 1324 BHRS viii. 42

'Cock-stream,' because haunted by such, cf. *cocbroc* BCS 675.

CORBETSHILL (Fm) (6'')

This takes its name from the Corbet family (VCH iii. 405).

GROVEBURY

Grava 1195 FF (p)

la Grave 1245 Cl

le Grove 1310 Ch

Grovesbury 1363 Cl

Grovebury, *Grovebyry* 1387 Cl, 1390-2 CS

Self-explanatory. The *bury* is manorial, *v.* burh.

Milton Bryant

MILTON BRYANT 95 C 5

Mildentone 1086 DB

Middelton 1086 DB, 1220 LS, 1227 Ass

Middleton 1227 Ass

Midelton Brian E 1 KF

Mylton Bryan 1489 Ipm

Mylton Bryon 1535 VE

'Middle farm,' but why so called is uncertain. It does stand about half-way between Woburn and Toddington. The *Brian* tenancy of the manor goes back to the reign of Henry ii (cf. VCH iii. 418).

Potsgrove

POTSGROVE 95 C 4/5

Potesgraue 1086 DB, Hy 2 (1260) Ch, 1202 Ass, 1219 FF,
1242 Fees 894, 1247 Ass, 1284 FA, 1285 Ipm, 1291 NI,
1308 Cl, 1316, 1346 FA, 1348 Ipm, 1390-2 CS, 1428 FA

Pottesgrave Hy 3 (1315) Ch, 1247, 1287 Ass, 1302 FA, 1489,
1499, 1504 Ipm

Pattesgrave 1220 LS, 1276 Ass

Portesgrave 1242 Fees 868, 1428 FA

Podesgraua 1247 Ass, 1315 Ipm, 1373 IpmR

Potsgraue 1254 FF

Potegraue E 1 KF, 1276 Ass

'Pot(t)'s grove' *v. grafa*. A pers. name *Pott* is not on record in OE but Skeat quotes *Pottingtun* from an OE charter and we seem to have a diminutive of this pers. name in *Potteles treow* (BCS 924).

Salford

SALFORD [sa'fəd] 84 J 4

Saleford 1086 DB, 1156 P *et passim* to 1302 FA

Seleford 1198 Fees 9

Salleford 1220 LS

Salford 1247 Ass *et passim*

Shalford 1276 Ass

Sawford 1610 Speed, 17th BHRS viii. 157

Salford al. *Sawford* c. 1650 Linc

Sarford c. 1750 Strip

'Willow-ford' *v. sealh, ford*.

WHITSUNDOLES (Fm)

Dr G. H. Fowler tells us that in 1595 this land was called *Lott Meades*, marked as in 'x lottes' or 'x doales,' and seems to have been allotted annually in ten shares to certain tenements. He suggests that possibly the allotment was made at Whitsuntide.

Stanbridge

STANBRIDGE 95 C 5

Stanbru(g)g(e) 1165, 1175 P, 1220 LS, 1242 Fees 867, 1276,
1287 Ass, 1316 FA, 1326 Cl, 1405 AD i

Stanbregge 1196 FF(P)

Stanbrig(g)e, *Stanbrygge* 1202, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, Cl,
1284 FA, 1353 Cl, 1405 AD i, 1489, 1497 Ipm

Staunbrig(g) 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass

Stanburgh 1227 Ass

Stantbrig 1240 Ass

Stanbrich 1276 Ass

Stambrug 1292 Ipm

Standbridge 1785 Jury

‘Stone-bridge’ *v.* *stan*, *brycg*. The village must have taken its name from the bridge at Stanbridgeford, a good mile to the south-east.

THE SLOUGH (6'')

la Slo 1297 SR (p)

la Sclo 1314 AD ii (p)

Self-explanatory. Cf. Slough (PN Bk 193, 243), all from OE *slōh*.

Studham

STUDHAM 95 G 7

Stodham 1053-66 (c. 1250) KCD 945 *et passim* to 1526 LS

Estodham 1086 DB

Stodeham 1286 Dunst, 1310 Fine, 1316 Cl, 1491 Ipm

Studham 1329 Cl

Studham or *Stadham* c. 1750 Bowen

‘Stud-homestead’ *v.* *stod*, *ham*.

BARWYTHE

Bereworde 1086 DB

Baresworth 1200-1 Cur

Bareswurth 1200 FF

Barewurth 1219 FF, 1236 (13th) *Dunst*, 1262 FF, 1286 *Dunst*

Barewrthe 1220-40 (13th) *Dunst*, 1220 FF

Bareworthe 1259 FF, 1276 RH, 1376 Cl

Barworth 1806 Lysons

This may contain an OE pers. name *Bære* (with weak form *Bæra*) which is on record in the 8th cent. This seems to be found in Barrington (C) and in Husbands Bosworth (Lei), which is probably a duplicate of the present name. A diminutive of it occurs in Barlings (L). Hence 'Bære's enclosure,' *v. worp*.

BUCKLESHORE (lost)

Bukeleshore 1200 FF, 1286 Dunst

Buclesore 1201 Cur, 1220 FF, 1220-40 (13th) *Dunst*

Buclesoure 1202 Ass

Bokelesore 1203 Abbr, Cur

Bokeleswrth 1203 Cur

Buckellesore 1220-40 (13th) *Dunst*

Buckesore 1240 Ass

Bukkelesore 1247 Ass

Bokeleshore 1286 Dunst

Buklesore 1309 Ch

'Buccel's bank' *v. ofer*. The name is not on record but is a regular diminutive formation from *Bucca* and is clearly found in Bucklesham (Sf).

HILL FARM

la Hulle 1198 FF (p)

Self-explanatory.

Tilsworth

TILSWORTH 95 E 5

Pileworde 1086 DB

Thulesworthe 1202 FF

Tillesworde 1219 FF

Tilesworth 1227 Ass

Tuillesworth 1227 Ass

Tulleswrth 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass

Tiueleswrth 1247 Ass

Tilleswurth 1247 Ass

Tyuelesworth 1247 Ass

Tulesworth E 1 KF, 1297 SR, 1302, 1316, 1346 FA

Tulleworth 1276 *Ass*

Tullesworth 1276 *Ass*, 1284 *FA*, 1291 *NI*

Tulisworth 1276 *Ass*

Teulesworth 1276 *Ass* (p)

Thulesworth 1276 *Ass*, 1287 *Ass* (p)

Tyllesworth, *Tillesworth* 1276 *Ass* (p), 1293 *Ch*, 1367, 1381 *Cl*,
1405 *BM*, 1407 *AD* i, vi, 1489, 1497 *Ipm*

Tyllisworth, *Tyllysworth* 1287 *Ass* (p), 1428 *FA*

Tylsworth 1390-2 *CS*

Tildesworth c. 1440 *Linc* (six times)

The forms set forth above show that Skeat's explanation of the first element as from a pers. name *Tugol* or *Tull* is inadequate. *Tulla* is known and a mutated form *Tyll(a)* would go rather further, but it would still leave unexplained those forms which seem to show the existence of a medial *v* (probably from OE *f*) in the early history of the name. Professor Ekwall calls our attention to the existence of a 12th cent. name *Thuf* (Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, no. 899). *pȳfel* would be a regular diminutive form from this, and so *Tilsworth* would be 'pȳfel's worð.' If that is the case the initial *p* of the DB form is due to the common confusion of OE *p* and *þ*. This pers. name would be identical with the significant word *þȳfel*, 'thicket,' itself a diminutive of *þūf*, used in the slightly different sense of 'tuft.' It can hardly be that word itself, for *worð* is not very likely to be compounded with the gen. of a significant word.

BLACKGROVE WOOD (6")

Blackgrave 1331 *QW*

Self-explanatory.

Tingrith

TINGRITH 95 B 6

Tingrei 1086 *DB*

Tyngri, *Tingri*, *Tyngry*, *Tingry(e)* 1220 *LS*, 1227 *Ass*, 1247
Ass et passim to 1365 *Cl*

Tingerithe 1247 *Ass*

Tyngrithe, *Tyngryth*, *Tingrith* 1276 *Ass*, 1331 *Ipm*, 1390-2
CS, 1509 *AD* v

Tyngre 1346, 1428 FA, 1489 Ipm

Tingryffe 15th HMC Var iv, 1605 NQ ii

Tyngreve 1504 Ipm

Tyngriff, *Tyngryff*, *Tingrif* 1526 LS, 1535 VE, 1566 BM

Tingreth 1598 D, Eliz ChancP

Tyngrave 1626 HMC iv, 1646 NQ iii

Tyngerriff c. 1690 *Strip* (Hail Weston)

This is clearly from OE *þing* and *rið*, the whole name meaning 'assembly-brook.' As we have seen above (p. 113) the name is peculiarly apt as the meeting-place of the Hundred of Manshead was by this brook. For the change of the suffix to *-riff*, Wyld gives interesting parallels, *Lambeff* for Lambeth and the well-known *Redriff* of Gulliver for Rotherhithe (*Colloquial English* 291). Curiously enough in the neighbouring county of Bucks, in Fingest (PN Bk 176), it is the initial *th* of *thing* which is changed to *f*. The change of initial *th* to *t* in this name may well have been due to official Anglo-Norman usage in connexion with the Hundred Court.

DAINTRY WOOD

In 1242-3 Walter FitzSimon held land in 'Tingrith (Fees 890). He seems to be the same as the Walter Fitz Simon who held land in Daventry or Daintry (Nth) (Fees 935), and if so this wood preserves a trace of his holding (cf. VCH iii. 436).

Toddington

TODDINGTON [tʌdɪntən] 95 C/D 6

Dodintone 1086 DB

Totingedone 1086 DB

Tudingedon 1166, 1182 P, 1220 LS, 1232 FF, 1243 Cl

Tudingeden 1180 P

Tudingeton 1186, 1193 P, 1198 Abbr, 1229 Cl

Todingedon 1187 P, 1250 Ch, 1276 RH

Tudinton 1194 P, 1244 Cl

Tuddingeton 1198 Abbr, 1227 Ass

Tudingetun 1198 FF

Tundingedun (sic) c. 1200 (13th) *Dunst*

Totingedun c. 1200 (13th) *Dunst*

Tudington, *Tudyngton* 1219 FF, 1227 Ass, 1229 Ch, 1231

Bract, 1240 Ass, 1244 Cl, 1287 Ass, 1315, 1392 Ch

- Tudingdon, Tudyngdon* 1227 Ass, 1231, 1238 Cl, 1240 Ass,
1247, 1276 Ass, 1286 Dunst, 1287 Ass
Todingdon, Todyngdon 1227, 1240 Ass, 1276 Ass, 1291 NI,
1316 Ipm, FA, 1333 Ipm, 1390-2 CS
Todington, Todyngton 1227, 1240 Ass, 1276 Ass, 1316 Cl,
1489 Ipm, 1526 LS
Tuddingetun 1232 Cl
Tudendon 1232 Cl
Tudingesdon 1239 FF
Tutdingedon 1242 Fees 868
Tuddingdon 1244 Cl
Totingdon 1276 Ass
Totingedon 1276 RH
Totynton 1342 Ipm
Totyngdon 1382 Cl, 1439 IpmR
Tudyngdown 1388 Cl
Tuddington 1576 Saxton, 1766 J, 1780 Jury
Taddington 1662 Fuller

'Hill of Tuda's people' *v. inga, dun*. The forms with *o* were at first purely spelling variants but ultimately tended to affect the pronunciation except locally. Skeat is inclined to identify this with the place called *Tudincgatun* (Thorpe 527), but it is very improbable that that is in Beds and we should certainly expect *-dun* rather than *-tun* as the termination. Of considerable interest is the occurrence of the field-name *Tuddeworth* in this parish, in the Dunstable Cartulary. It is clearly named after the same man¹.

CHALTON

- Chaltun* 1131 (13th) *Dunst*
Chalton 1195 P *et passim*, 1287 Ass (*juxta Tudington*)
Chalftun c. 1200 (13th) *Dunst* (p)

¹ With the aid of Mr Hight Blundell's *Toddington: its Annals and its People* we can trace the long survival of certain field-names found in the 13th cent. in the Dunstable Cartulary: *Cherswellemede, Hemoridie, Wape-rince, Hickwelle, Levesethe* appear as *Carswell Meadow, Heymoriddy, Wap-winge, Hickwell, Lewsey* in the 1581 Survey of the Manor of Toddington. Similarly *Stonyham, Longspert, the Quabbe* of a 1453 deed appear as *Standingham, Longsperte* in the same Survey, while the last survive as *Longspert* and *Squabb* or *Quabb* near Cowbridge, to this day.

Chauton 1200, 1203 FF, 1227 Ass, 1236-7 FF, 1250 Ch

Chalfton 1227 Ass

Chaulton 1610 Speed, 1766 J

'Calf-farm' *v.* cealf, tun.

CONGER HILL

Cungar, Cunniger 1597

Cungar 1621

These early forms are quoted from Mr Hight Blundell's history of Toddington (p. 5) and point to ME *conynger*, 'rabbit-warren' (cf. NED s.v. *conyger*). There is no trace of such now, but it is perhaps hardly to be expected and the earthwork on the hill must have had some earlier name now lost.

EFFERIDDY (local)

Aelfredeswelredy 13th *Dunst*

This local survival is noted in BHRS v. 139. It is interesting as an example of the OE *riðig*, which is fairly common in the minor names of early Beds documents but which seems to have left no trace on the map. The whole name means 'stream from Alfred's spring.'

FANCOTT¹

Fencote 1212, 1215 FF, 1276 Ass (p)

Fancote 1224 FF, 1276 Ass (p), 1304 AD

'Cotes in the marsh' *v.* fenn, cot.

FRENCHMANS WAY (local)

Franchemanewei 13th *Dunst*

This old name for the road through Tebworth to Hockliffe (Blundell, *Toddington*, 196) would seem to hide some historical incident lost beyond recovery.

HERNE (Grange, Green, etc.)

Hare 1183 P, 1202 Ass, 1220 LS, 1227 Ass, 1236 FF, 1238 Cl, 1242 Fees 868, 1247 FF, Ass, 1250 Ch, 1276 RH, Ass, 1302, 1316, 1346 FA, 1392 Ch, 1428 FA

¹ This is possibly the *East Coten* of BCS 659, cf. BHRS v. 168.

Haren 1276 Ass, 1286 Dunst, 1297 SR (p)

Todingdon Grange de Hare 1291 Tax

Harne 1535 VE

Hairn 1766 J, 1826 B

This name is difficult. It is clear that the modern form is corrupt and that the *Hairn* of the earlier maps is a good deal more correct. In considering the meaning of the name it should be noted *Hairn* probably applies to a largish area rather than to any single spot, for in Bryant's map it is printed right across the Toddington road with considerable spacing, and this agrees with the fact that we now have Herne Green, Herne Manor Farm and Herne Farm on the north side of the road and Herne Grange and another Herne Farm on the south side of the road. All alike are on high ground, Herne Manor Farm being at the highest spot in the district.

Professor Ekwall takes the name to be a dat. pl. and identical with Harome (Y), DB *Harum*. For this we must assume an OE word corresponding to Swed *har*, 'stony place,' *stenhar*, 'heap of stones,' MLG *hare*, 'height,' Dutch *haar*, 'height covered with wood' (often in p.n.s as *Haaren*). Cf. further Jellinghaus, *Die Westfälischen Ortsnamen*, s.n. *haar*. Hence, '(At the) *hars*,' but the exact sense of that word we cannot determine.

HIPSEY (Spinney) (6")

Eppesho wood 1250 Ch, 1279 Misc.

Eppeho 1386 Pat

Ipsey bush 1607 Terr

Ipsow 1750 Land Tax Assessment

'Eopp's hoh' or 'spur of land.' The weak form *Eoppa* is well established as an OE pers. name and is clearly a pet-form of one of the OE pers. names in *Eorþ*-.

WADLOW (lost)¹

Wadelawe 1200 FF (p), 1202 Ass (p), 1212 FF (p), 1220 LS (p), 1236, 1243 FF, 1247 Ass

Waudelawe 1236 FF, 1240 Ass (p)

¹ Lysons says (143) that this was a mile from Toddington and that there were considerable traces of buildings in a field which goes by the same name. This is clearly the field known as *Wadlowes*, *Wadeloes*, in the 17th cent. strip map, near Redhill Farm.

Wadlowe 1236 FF

Wadelowe 1247 Ass, 1250 Ch, 1286 Dunst, 1291 Tax, 1323 Ch

Probably 'Wada's hill or barrow' *v.* hlaw. The two forms in *Waud-* look as if the first element were *weald*, but that would make the subsequent development very difficult to explain.

WARMARK

Warimarc, Waremerche 13th Dunst

There is not much to go upon here. The suffix is clearly OE *mearc* and the farm lies near the boundary of the parish. The first part may be an unrecorded OE pers. name *Wæra*, a short form of one of the numerous OE names in *Wær-*. Alternatively it might be an OE *wearg(a)-mearc*, 'outlaw(s)-mark,' referring perhaps to a place where such were to be found or where bodies might be thrown after execution. *v.* *mearc*.

Totternhoe

TOTTERNHOE 95 F 5/6

Totenehou 1086 DB

Toternho(u) 1160-7 (13th) Dunst, 1202 Ass, 1220 (13th) Dunst, 1227 Ass, 1234 FF, 1247 Ass, 1284 FA, 1286 Dunst, 1304 Ipm, 1316 FA, 1323 Ch, 1333 Ipm, 1350 AD vi

Toterho(u) 1176 P, 1202 Ass, 1242 Fees 891, 1247 Cl, 1257 Ch, 1262 FF, 1302 FA

Thotherno, Tothirno 13th Dunst

Totenho 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass

Thoterho 1241 FF, 1286 Dunst

Toterno 1247 Ass, 1286 Dunst, 1287 Ass, 1299 Ipm, (by Dunstaple) 1327 Ipm, 1489, 1497 Ipm

Thoturno Hy 3 BM

Totorno 1332 AD i, 1352 BM

Toturnowe 1338 AD iii, 1347 Cl

Totourno 1393 BM

Toturnho 1412 AD vi, 1461 IpmR, 1463 AD i

Toturhoo 1428 FA

Totern(h)oo 1503 Ipm, 1526 LS

Tatternall 1576 Saxton

Totternhoe 1657 BM

Tatternhoe 1780, 1785, 1791, 1810, 1820 Jury

The name *Totternhoe* has long been considered a crux, at least so far as the first element is concerned. Consideration of the topography and archaeology of the site however provides the solution. The hoh is a promontory of the chalk downs, with very steep sides on the west and south but with a more gradual slope to the east. It is crowned by an ancient camp, commonly known as Totternhoe Castle and commands a view of Watling Street, which runs past it from south-east to north-west, just two miles away. All this suggests that the first element is OE *tot-ærn*, 'look-out house' (v. *ærn*). This compound is not on record in OE, but has its parallel in the familiar *Toot Hill*, *Tuthill*, so commonly used of a look-out hill. The castle was clearly used as a 'look-out house.' This interpretation is interestingly confirmed by Mr Goddard, writing in the VCH (i. 294) with no suspicion of the actual meaning of the place-name. He says 'the position is a majestic one, and to those moving on the lower plains for miles round, the Totternhoe mound seems to keep watch on its height like some great conning-tower¹.'

COOMBE (Fm) (6")

Combes (p) 1276 *Ass* (p)

v. cumb. The farm lies in a depression on the south side of the hill.

DOOLITTLE MILL

v. Dolittle Mill *supra* 68.

EGLEMONT (lost)

Eglemunt 1166 P, 1171-7 (13th) *Dunst*

Eglemont 1318 Cl

The site of this quarry was in the fields north of Totternhoe (VCH iii. 448), and it was used to provide the stone for the

¹ Tattenhoe (PN Bk 73) has some forms in *Totern-* and, curiously enough, lies in the same relation to Watling Street some thirteen miles to the north-west, but the existence of early forms in *Tat-* forbids the same etymology and the forms in *Totern-* are probably to be explained as due to the influence of the name of the more important place.

king's house at Windsor (cf. Pipe Roll for 1166). The meaning is clearly 'eagle's hill,' a picturesque name given by the Normans to Totternhoe Hill.

LOWER END

Netherhende (p) 1287 *Ass*

Self-explanatory. In early days *nether* was used for such names rather than *lower* as now employed.

PASCOMBE PIT (6")

Passecumbe 1264 (13th) *Dunst*

'Passa's cumb.' The combe is a hollow in the Dunstable Downs. The pers. name *Passa* is on independent record and is also found in Passenham (Nth). v. IPN 147 n. 4 for further notes on this pers. name.

Westoning

WESTONING 95 B 7

Westone 1086 DB *et passim*, (*Tregoz*) 1316 FA, (*Ynge*) 1365
Fine

Westonynge 1373 Cl

Westnyng, *Westning* 1518 *Award*, 1646 NQ iii

'West farm,' but why so called is not clear. The only place from which it is really west is Higham Gobion. This is a good four miles to the east. It is rather nearer to Barton-in-the-Clay, but this is rather south of west. The present form of the name is misleading, it should be Weston Ing, the Ing being manorial and due to the acquisition of the manor by Chief Justice *Ing* in the days of Edward ii (cf. VCH iii. 452). The Tregoz family held the manor for a time in the 13th cent. (ib.).

CLAYHILL

Clayhull 1460 AD iii

'The soil (of Westoning) is varied, on a subsoil of strong clay' (VCH iii. 451).

SAMSHILL

Samsill 1617 BHRS ii. 108

Samsell 1660, Bunyan, *Relation of Imprisonment*, 1766 J

Whipsnade

WHIPSNAD 95 G 6

Wilbesnede 1202 Ass*Wibsnede, Wyb-* 1202 FF, 1287 Ass*Wybbesnathe* 1227 FF, 1332 AD i*Wibbesnethe* 1227 FF*Wyppesnade* 1227 Ass, 1308 AD i, 1382 Cl*Wylbesnethe* 1227 Ass*Wibbesnade, Wybb-* 1236 FF, 1242 Fees 869, 1247 Ass, 1252 FF, 1291 NI, 1319 AD vi, 1333 AD vi*Wybesnade, Wib-* 1236 FF, 1291 NI, 1316 FA, 1340, 1349, 1350 AD vi*Wipesnade, Wylbesnad, Wybesnathe* 1247 Ass*Wybbesned* 1247, 1276 Ass*Wybbesnet* 1276 Ass*Websnade* 1299 Ipm, 1374 AD vi*Wypsnade, Wip-* 1352 BM, 1390-2 CS, 1394, 1490 AD vi, 1491 Ipm*Websenad* 1374 AD vi*Wipsonade* 1421, 1422 AD i, 1441 AD ii*Wyppysnade* 1526 LS

'Wibba's snæd,' the reference being probably to the piece of woodland cut off and cleared by the original settler. It is very doubtful if this name is found on independent record in OE, the *Wibba* of Florence of Worcester being an error of transcription for *Pibba*, but it is clearly found in *Wibbandun* (ASC s.a. 568) and must be a pet-form for some such name as *Wigbeald* or *Widbeald*. There was also a *Wybbesethe* in Whipsnade in 1308 (AD i) which is a compound of *seað* with the same pers. name.

DEDMANSEY (Wood) (6")

Dudewineshei 1227 CIR*Dudeuinishei* 1254 BHRS viii. 211*Dodesynnishay* 1299 Ipm*Dodenynishey* 1333 AD vi*Dudmanshey* Eliz ChancP*Dudmanse* 17th VCH iii. 455

'Dudewine's *hay* or enclosure' *v.* (ge)hæg. This name, as also Shortgrove, reminds us that we are in wooded country and confirms the suggestion made above as to the exact significance of the *-snade* of Whipsnade.

THE GREEN

Wybesnadegrene 1350 AD vi

le comune grene 1409 AD i

Self-explanatory. 'The village is grouped round a large green' (VCH iii. 455).

SHORTGROVE

Sortegraue 1160-7 (13th) *Dunst*, 1209 FF

Scortegrave c. 1160 (13th) *Dunst*

Shortegrave 1209 Abbr

Schertegrave 1304 AD ii, 1305 AD iii

Self-explanatory.

Woburn

WOBURN [wu'bən] 95 B 4

Woburninga gemære 969 BCS 1229

Woberne 1086 DB

Woburne 1086 DB *et passim*

Wobburn 1130, 1159, 1164 P

Weburna 1170 P

Wuburn 1202 Ass, Hy 3 BM, 1227 Ass, 1235 Cl, 1240, 1241 FF, 1245 Ch, 1247 Ass, 1252 FF, 1268 Pat

Wouburn 1202 Ass, 1271 FF, 1295 Ipm, 1299 Ch, 1305, 1320, 1334 Cl, 1337 Ipm, Cl, 1364, 1381 Cl, 1389 IpmR

Wburne 1227 Ass

Wubburn 1236 FF

Woughburne 1307 Ass

Wobourne 1332, 1364, 1376-7 Cl

Woubourn 1332 Ipm, Cl, 1334, 1381 Cl

Wooburn 1526 LS

Woburn or *Woobourne* c. 1750 Bowen

'Winding stream,' a compound of OE *woh*, 'twisted,' and *burna*. Cf. Woburn (Sr, W).

BIRCHMORE

Birchemore 1227 Ass, 1242 Fees 867 *et passim*

Birchmore 1299 Ipm *et passim*

HORSE POND (6")

Horspol 1276 Ass

These two are self-explanatory.

LOWE'S WOOD

Losewod a. 1340 VCH iii. 459

Louze Wood 1826 B

It seems clear that the modern form is corrupt and that the name really goes back to OE *hlos-wudu* (BCS 627) which it is difficult to think can be anything else than 'pigstye-wood,' *v.* *hlose*. There was another *Loswude* in Chicksand (*Warden* 19 *b*).

UTCOATE GRANGE¹

Utcote 1276 Ass (p)

Uttecote 1299 Ch, 1306 Abbr

Vutecote 1331 QW

'Out-cottages' *v.* *cot*. The grange lies in the south-west corner of Woburn parish and is probably so called from its remote position.

WHITNOE (Orchard) (6")

Wytenho, *Witenho* 1291 Tax, 1307 Ass, 1337 Pat

Whitenho 1299 Ch, 1331 QW

OE *hwitan hō* (dat.), 'white spur of land,' *v.* *hwit*, *hoh*.

VIII. FLITT HUNDRED

Flictham 1086 DB

Flicte 1179 P

Flete 1185 Rot Dom

Flitte 1193 P, 1202, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1284, 1316 FA, 1327

Ipm, Fine, 1328 Fine, 1390-2 CS, 1428 FA

¹ The new Popular 1 in. O.S. map has *Ulcoate*, but this must be a mistake. The 6 in. map has the above form, which agrees with the earlier history of the name.

Flitton 1297, 1327 Ipm, Orig

Flitten(e) 1297 SR, 1327 Fine, 1329 Pat, 1332 Ipm

Fletton 1297 Cl

Flytte 1302, 1346 FA, 1495 Ipm

Flett 1310 Misc, 1587 D

Flittescourt 1316 FA

Flite 1327 Orig

Flute 1353 Orig

Flutt 1408 IpmR

For a discussion of the etymology of this name, *v.* Flitton *infra* 148. The site of the meeting-place of the Hundred is unknown. It must have been in the neighbourhood of Flitton or along the streams which gave rise to that name. This, as in Manshead Hundred, makes the meeting-place to have been roughly at the middle of its longer axis, very near to the meeting-place of that Hundred itself. The 'Thingrithe' of Tingrith (*v. supra* 134) is a western extension of the Flitt streams.

Barton-in-the-Clay

BARTON-IN-THE-CLAY 95 C 9

Bertone 1086 DB, 1189 P

Barton 1202 Ass (p) *et passim*

Barton iuxta Shuttelyngton c. 1370 *Linc*

Barton-in-the-Clay 1535 VE

Barton-le-Clay c. 1560 *Linc*

Barton Clay 1675 Ogilby

v. bere-tun. The soil is a strong clay, with a subsoil of clay and chalk (VCH ii. 308).

BROOKEND GREEN

cf. *le Brokfurlong* 1287 *Ass*

Self-explanatory.

Caddington

CADDINGTON 95 F 8

Cadandun c. 1053 (c. 1250) KCD 920

Cadendone, Kadendon 1086 DB, 1131-3 (13th) *Dunst*, 1181,

1222 St P, 1247 *Ass*, 1286 *Dunst*, 1287 *Ass*, 1316 FA, 1345

AD vi, 1350 AD i

Cadendun 1189 (1227) Ch, 12th St P, 1222 BM

Cadingdun 1195 FF

Cadinton 1202 Ass (p), 1276 Ass

Cadyndon, Kadindon 1227 Ass, 1242 Fees 867, 1299 AD iii

Cadingdon, Kad- 1247 Ass, 1286 Dunst, 1390-2 CS, 1394 AD vi

Cadington, -yng- 1247, 1287 Ass, 1353, 1367, 1382 Cl, 1450
IpmR

Westcadyngton 1353 Cl

Carington 1563 Deed (pen. Dr G. H. Fowler)

Carrington 1690 NQ i

'Cada's hill' *v. dun.* For the old local pronunciation, cf. Doddington (Nb) pronounced as *Dorrington* (PN NbDu 65) and Derrington (St) and Derrythorpe (L) which both originally had medial *d*. We have the reverse process in Paddock Wood (K) from *Parrok* and dialectal *poddish* for *porridge*. The name occurs again in this county in Cadbury *supra* 56.

SKIMPOT (Fm)

This name is said to be a corruption of 'St Mary's Pottery' (*v. W. G. Smith, Dunstable*, 131), in the same way that *Skimmery Hall* was colloquial for St Mary's Hall in Oxford.

ZOUCHE'S FARM

This seems to represent a manor held of the dean and chapter of St Paul's by the family of Zouche of Harringworth (cf. VCH ii. 315).

Clophill

CLOPHILL 95 A 9

Clopelle 1086 DB

Clophull(e) 1227, 1240 Ass, 1242 Fees 889, 1250-1 FF, 1273

Cl, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 NI, 1293 Ch, 1297 SR, 1302 FA,

1307 Ass, 1316, 1346 FA, 1350 Ipm, 1354 BM, 1359 Cl,

1360 Ipm, 1384 Cl, 1390-2 CS, 1428 FA

Clop(p)hill 1247, 1287 Ass, 1361 Cl

Claphull 1287 Ass

Cloppehull 1287 Ass

Clouphull 1287 Ass, 1362 Cl

Clapwell 1654 Cai

Claphill al. *Clapwell* 17th BHRS viii. 146

'Tree-stump hill.' For the element *Clop-*, *v. Clapham supra* 22.

BEADLOW

Beaulieu 1254 FF, 1293 Ch, 1310, 1393 Cl, 1529 LP

Bello Loco 1254 FF, 1287 QW, 1390-2 CS

Bealliu c. 1270 Gerv

Beleu 1428 Chron St Alb

Bedlowe, Beawlowe 1578 BM

Bedlow 1590 BM

An interesting anglicising of an earlier French name. The nearest parallel is the development of the same French name to Bewdley (Wo). OFr names in *Beu-* developed in later English either to *Bew-* or *Bea-*. Here, as in the Bucks *Beamond* End, we have the second of these two developments. The appearance of a name of French origin in this parish must be connected with the foundation of this cell of St Alban's by the family of Albini who early had a castle at Cainhoe.

CAINHOE

Chainehou, Cainou 1086 DB

Cahenno c. 1115 (c. 1200) Hist. Mon. de Abingdon ii.

101

Kainho, Cainho, Caynho 1227 Ass *et passim*

Keinbo, Keynho 1235 Fees 460 (p), 1287 Cl, Ipm, 1311 Ipm

Cayno, Kayno E 1 KF, 1272 Ipm, 1275 Cl, 1276 Ass (p) 1346 FA, 1380 Cl, 1428 FA

Kayho, Cayho 1272 Ipm, 1287 Ass

Keynoo 1512 AD vi

Keynho Eliz ChancP

'Cæga's hoh' or 'spur of land.' This is the weak form of the pers. name *Cæg* found in Keysoe *supra* 14. On *Cæg* and *Cæga*, v. IPN 180.

MODDRY or MODDRI (lost)

This suspicious-looking name is given in Dugdale iii. 276 as the original name of Beaulieu Priory in the abstract in the St Albans Register of a document datable as before 1146. In this it occurs several times: the other place-names in the document are fairly good, except *Rinethella* for *Amethella*.

PEDLEY WOOD

Pudelegh 1324 Ipm

'The leah or clearing of *Pydda*.' Without the intermediate forms it is difficult to be sure of the history. Cf. Piddington (Nth) and Pidley (Hu) *infra* 211.

Flitton

FLITTON 95 A 8

Flichtham 1086 DB

Flitte, *Flytte* 1166 P, 1202, 1227 Ass, 1236 Cl, 1242 Fees 891, 1270 FF, 1276 Ass, 1282 Ipm, 1284 FA, 1287 Ass, 1302 FA, 1305 Ipm, Cl, 1316 Ipm, FA, 1329 Ipm, Cl, 1388 Cl, 1390-2 CS, 1396 Cl, 1428 FA

Flete 1183 P*Fluuten*¹ c. 1200-25 BHRS ii. 128

Flitten c. 1200-25 BHRS ii. 128, 1276 Ass (p), 1279 RH (p), 1297 SR, 1327 Ipm

Flette 1240 Ass*Flyten* 1260 FF*Flyte* 1262 FF*Flit* 1286 Dunst*Flute* 1291 NI*Flitton*, *Flytton* 1318 Ch, 1331 QW, 1526 LS*Flyten* 1331 QW²

It is clear that in the discussion of this difficult name we must take into account, not only the forms of Flitton itself but those of Flitt Hundred, which must be associated with it, and of Flitwick just across the valley from Flitton, in the Hundred of Redborn-stoke. Further, one must note that the stream which divides Flitton and Flitwick parishes is known as the River Flit(t), though the only actual record of this on the O.S. map is its expansion to a lake known as *Flit* Water, in the grounds of Flitwick Manor. Also, there still survives the Rural Deanery of *Fleete*, which is recorded in 1291 as *Flitte*, *Flute* (NI) and *Flett* in 1535 (VE).

¹ Printed as *Flinten*, but this must be an error for *Fluuten* or, possibly, *Fluiten*.

² The forms in the *Lincoln Registers* are *Flitt(e)*, *Flytte* (1290-1431, six times), *Flette* (c. 1440, twice), *Fleytt* (c. 1440), *Flytt(e)* (c. 1470, four times), *Flitton* (c. 1480).

Topographically it is to be noted that there are in reality a number of small streams parallel to one another, with small connecting streams, rather than a single stream, running along the valley which separates first Pulloxhill and then Flitton from Flitwick.

It is clear that the names in question must have something to do with OE *flēot* or *flēote*, used of a small stream, the most familiar example of which is the one which gave its name to Fleet Street in London. Such would explain forms like *Flete*, *Flieteuiche*, *Fletwyk*, *Flettewyke*, *Flotewyk*, *Flutewyke*, *Fliuten*, *Flute*, for we might expect such developments from OE *ēo* in ME, the variant forms representing variant dialectal developments of the same OE word. They would clearly also account for the modern Deanery name. We are still, however, left with the puzzle of all the early forms in *Flit*- and still more with those in *Flitt*-.

Professor Ekwall suggests for the solution of this puzzle that there may have been very early shortening of ME *Flit* from OE *Flēot* (cf. *Lieftric*, *Liueua* in 12th cent. Beds Fines from OE *Lēofric*, *Lēofgifu*) to *Flitt*, helped by the influence of Flitwick, in which such shortening would be natural. The *c* of DB he takes to be a mistranscription for *e*. Traces of this form may also be found in the form (*on*) *flitum* found as a gloss for Latin *fluctris*. This, Toller suggests (B.T. Suppl. s.v. *fleet*), is a mistake for *flactris*, *flactra* being itself a Latin word for *locus coenosus*. This sense of 'marsh' would perhaps suit the ground even better than stream¹ but, however that may be, the dat. pl. form *flitum* serves to remind us of the origin of the curious *Fliuten*, *Flit(t)en(e)* forms which lie behind the modern Flitton. The usual form of the place-name in the dat. sg. would be *flēote* in OE, but as there was more than one stream or marsh, equally common would be the dat. pl. form *fleetum* and these in ME would develop to forms with a suffix *-en*². The rare suffix *-en* was naturally altered to *-on* in later days. We are left with the small problem of the DB form for *Flitton*. The *-ham* may be simply for *-am*, the Lat. fem. accusative suffix which

¹ In the *Annals of Dunstable* (108) we have a reference to *Mariscus* de Flitte.

² For such double forms cf. Ion *infra* 151.

we sometimes find added to place-names in DB when they are in the accusative after 'tenet' (cf. *Evereham* in DB for Iver (Bk)). Alternatively the *-ham* may be a bad form for the dat. pl. suffix *-um*. These names therefore mean 'wic by the stream,' and '(at) the stream or streams.'

GREENFIELD

Grenefelde 1286 Dunst

Grenfelde 1548 Pat

Grenfield 1766 J

Self-explanatory.

WARDHEDGES

Wardegges 1276 Ass

Wardhegges 1276 Ass (p), 1297 SR (p)

'Protecting hedges' v. *weard*. The second element is OE *hecg*, 'hedge.' The same name is found in Weybridge (Hu) as *Wardehegges* (Ramsey Cartulary, ii. 301). In both places it probably has reference to some game-enclosure.

WORTHY END

Wrthing 13th Dunst, 1240 Ass

Worthinge 1276 Ass (p), 1297 SR (p)

Westworthinge 1286 Dunst, 1302 FA

Worthinge de Flitte 1287 Ass (p)

This p.n. may have the same history as that suggested by Ekwall for Worthing (Sx) and be from OE *Weorðingas*, 'Weorð's people,' a derivative of a lost OE pers. name (PN in *-ing* 64) which he finds also in Worston, Worsthorne and Worthington (La). Alternatively, and perhaps more probably, this place and the Sussex Worthing may be from OE *worðingas* and mean simply 'the people of the worð or enclosure.' For such names cf. the citation under Eastcotts *supra* 91.

Gravenhurst

GRAVENHURST 95 A 9/10

Crauenhest 1086 DB

Gravenherst 1206 FF (p), 1504 Ipm

Graveherst 1213 FF, 1227 Ass

- Gravenhurst* 1223 FF *et passim*
Gravehurst 1225 Pat, 1302 FA
Grauenhirst 1227 Ass
Grauehirst 1227 Ass, 1260 FF
Grauenhirste, -hyrst 1232 FF, 1266 AD i (*Parva*)
Grafhurst 1240 Ass
Great Gravenhyrst c. 1270 AD i
Graunherst 1287 Ass
Cravenhurst 1377 BM
Grovenhurst 1428 FA
Overgravenest 1534 BM

Professor Zachrisson suggests OE *grāfan-hyrst*, 'wooded hill of the grove or thicket¹, with the rare *grāfa*, 'grove,' found in *ellen-grāfa*, 'elder-grove' (B.T. *s.n.*). The *a* would be shortened in the trisyllable, with sporadic preservation of the long vowel and development to *grove*. The vowel is now long but that may be due to ready association with *grave*.

ION

- Eie, Eye* 1202 Ass (p) *et passim* to 1413 IpmR
Eyeyn 1260 FF
Eyen 1270 FF (p), 1287 Ass, 1297 SR, 1323 Ipm, 1428 FA (p)
Eyon 1492 Ipm, 1637 NQ iii
Yon 1504 Ipm
Yen 1549 Pat

'(At the) island' or '(at the) islands,' the two forms of the name being the dat. sg. and pl. of eg. The sites must have been 'islands' in the marshes which once covered this low-lying and well-watered ground². For such variant forms, cf. Flitton *supra* 148.

Haynes

HAYNES [heinz], [hɔːnz] 84 J 9

- Hagenes* 1086 DB, c. 1206 BHRS i. 104, Hy 3 (1317) Ch
Hagnes c. 1150 BM

¹ The Rector, the Rev. H. J. Baylis, writes 'obviously the parish was once thickly wooded in the higher ground and it consists mostly of a hill with its slopes.'

² Great Ion Farm is still subject to floodings after heavy and continued rain (*ex inf.* the Rev. H. J. Baylis).

Hawenes 1202 Ass (p), 1219 FF, 1291 NI, 1297 SR, 1302,
1316 FA, 1347 Pat, 1390-2 CS

Hawenis 1219 FF, 1276 Ass

Hawunes 1242 Fees 887

Hawnes 1247 Ass, 1287 Ass (p), 1426 IpmR, 1535 VE, 1549
Pat, 1800, 1830 Jury

Haunes 1247 Ass, 1257 FF, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1291 NI, 1326
Cl, 1327, 1351 Ipm, 1361 Cl, 1402 CS, 1610 Speed

Hawunes 1287 Ass

Hawens 1325 Cl, 1780 Jury

Haynes c. 1560 Linc

Hains 1712 NQ i

This is a difficult name and one can only offer tentative solutions of it. There is, quite apart from the mention of the hero *Hagena* in *Widsith*, adequate evidence for an OE pers. name *Hagena*, and Björkman (ZAN 42) seems right in accepting it as against Redin (97) and Forssner (139) who are sceptical about its being anything but continental. With this pers. name as a basis one can perhaps take this name as consisting of *Hagenan* (gen. sg.), followed by *næss*, applied here to a spur of land. It is not unsuited to the site of Haynes, the nucleus of which we may assume to have lain along the ridge on which the church stands. For the use of this word for an inland site, cf. Nazing (Ess) in PN in *-ing* 47. *Hagonannæss* would inevitably become *Hagenes*, *Hawnes* in ME.

One other possibility may however be suggested. The OE *haga*, 'hedge,' was in OE and, in the form *hawe*, in ME, used of an enclosure, a yard, a messuage. The original name may have been *haga-næss*, 'haw-ness,' and have been descriptive of a spur of land on which stood a 'haw.' There is a curiously apposite parallel for such a name in the Swedish *Haganäs*, dealt with in *Sverges Ortnamn* vii. 1. 236. The modern spelling and pronunciation are entirely arbitrary, though perhaps influenced by the alternative *hay* = hedge.

NORTHWOOD END

Norwd' 1202 Ass

Northwode 1204 FF (p)

Self-explanatory.

Higham Gobion

HIGHAM GOBION [gaubiən] olim [g^Λbin] 95 B 9*Echam* 1086 DB*Heham* 1166 P*Hecham* 1231 Cl*Hegham* 1287 Ass*Heygham Gobyon* 1291 NI*Higham Gubyns* c. 1520 Linc*Higham Gubion* 1526 LS*Higham Gubbin(s)* 1595 Cai, 17th NQ i

'High homestead,' aptly descriptive of its site, *v.* *heah*, *ham*. The Gobion family were associated with the manor from the 12th cent. on (cf. VCH ii. 345). For the popular development of this family-name, cf. the history of Gubeon (PN NbDu 97).

FALDO

Faldhou c. 1125 (c. 1350) Rams (p)*Faldehou* 1166 P*Faldho* 1168 P, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass*Faudho* 13th *Dunst*, 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass*Faudeho* 1202, Ass (p), 1227 Ass*Faldehow* 1227 Ass*Faudo* 1247 Ass*Faldo* 1239 FF (p), 1297 SR*Faltho* 1336 Fine, 1338 Cl

'The hoh or promontory of land with a fald or fold upon it.'

Hyde

HYDE (EAST and WEST) 95 G 10

la Hide 1197 FF (p)*Esthide* 1247 Ass*Westhide* 1276 Ass*Esthith*, *Westhith* 1287 Ass*v.* *hid*.

DANE END (Fm)

de la Dane 1297 SR (p)

'Valley end' *v.* *denu*. ME *dane* for *dene* is occasionally found, coming from an OE form *dænu* in place of the more usual *denu*.

FERNELS WOOD (6")¹

Fenelsgrove or *Fennel Grove* al. *Fenels Luton* 1504 Ipm

This goes back to the FitzNeel family who, as early as 1283, held land in Luton (VCH ii. 358), and this wood formed part of their manor of Fennels Grove.

KIDNEY WOOD

Cutheno 1198 FF

Cutenho, *Kutenho* 1199 FF, 1307 Ass (p)

Ketenho 1201 FF

Cothernhoe 1772 BHRS v. 102

Kitnoe 1794-1841 ib.

Kidnoe 1811 ib.

Kidney 1831 ib.

These forms point to an OE *cytan-hō*, 'kite's hoh,' the hill being so called because frequented by a kite. It is however possible that the first element is a pers. name *Cyta*, identical with the name of the bird.

THRALESEND

'In 1390 Nicholas de la Haye confirmed to his mother, Agnes Thrale, lands in West Hide, Luton' (VCH ii. 359).

Leagrave

LEAGRAVE 95 E 8

Littegraue 1224 CIR, 1227 Ass, 1276 Ass (p)

Littlegraue 1227 Ass, 1287 Ass

Lihtegraue 1227 Ass

Leytegraue c. 1250 Deed (pen. Dr G. H. Fowler)

Lithtegraue 1276 Ass, 1286 Dunst

Lithegrave, *Lyth-* 1276 RH (p), 1287 Ass

Lytegrave 1286 Dunst, 1379 Cl, 1390-2 CS (p)

Lyghegraue 1287 Ass

Lytelgraue 1287 Ass, 1379 Cl

Lightgrave 14th Gest St Alb, 1461 IpmR, 1499 Ipm

Lygrave 1504 Ipm, 1610 Speed, 1675 Ogilby

¹ The form on the modern O.S. map seems to be an error.

Lighgrave 1504 Ipm

Lyttgrave 1535 VE

It is at first sight difficult to bring the different forms of this name into coherent relationship. In particular, the forms which suggest that the first element is OE *lytel*, 'little,' cannot at first be reconciled with those which point to OE *liht*, *leoht*, 'light.' But the difficulty disappears if it may be assumed that the first element consists, not of a significant word, but of a pers. name *Lihtla*, derived from a stem *Liht-*, which is known to have been employed, though rarely, in OE. The compound *Lihtweald* occurs in the LVD, and *Lihtwine*, in the form *Lictuin*, is found in the 11th and 12th centuries. An original form *Lihtlan grāf* will account for all the forms earlier than the 16th cent. *Little-* in 1227 can be derived from *Lihltle-* by assimilation of *ht* to *tt* just as OE *Witta* is best regarded as an assimilated form of *Wihta*. The spelling *Leyte-* can safely be taken as representing *Leyta-*, with *yt* for *ht*, from the parallel form *Leohte-*. The loss of *l* after *t* has many parallels. The influence of the river-name *Lea*, which first becomes apparent in 1504, did not finally prevail until recent times. *v. graf.*

LEWSEY

Leveseye 1291 Tax

Leveslhey 1535 VE

Levssey 1549 Pat

OE *Lēofes-ēg*, 'Leof's island,' the site being a well-watered one.

Limbury

LIMBURY 95 E 8

Lygeanburg 571 A (c. 899) ASC

Lymbiri, *Lim-* c. 1225 (13th) *Dunst*, 1276 *Ass*

Limbury, *Lym-* 1227 *Ass*, 1247 *Ass*, 1286 *Dunst et passim*

Limbur(y) c. 1250 *Deed* (*pen.* Dr G. H. Fowler), 1276 *Ass*,
1290 AD iv, 1307 *Ass* (p)

Lunboreye 1252 Ch (p)

Lumbyr' 1276 *Ass* (p)

Limberge 1296 Cl

Lymbery 1307 *Ass et passim*

Limbrey 1780 Jury

Limbury come Biscott (sic) 1785 Jury

'The fort of the river Lea' *v.* Lea, R. *supra* 8. This, and not the traditional Lenborough (Bk), is undoubtedly the correct identification of the place mentioned in the ASC as cited above.

BISCOT

Bissopescote 1086 DB, 1199 (1301) Ch

Bishopscot 1227 Ass

Bis(e)cot 1227 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1249 FF, 1276 Ass *et passim*

Bishecote 1247 Ass

Bishopescote 1287 Ass

Byssekote 1287 Ass

Bisshcote 1401 IpmR

'Bishop's cottages' *v.* cot. Who the bishop was is quite unknown, nor indeed need the word contain *bishop* in the official meaning of the word. There are two clear examples of *Biscop* as an OE pers. name, one of them in the genealogy of the kings of Lindsey, the other in the name of *Biscop Baducing*, commonly called *Benedict Biscop*. The latter was born at the very time of the conversion of Northumbria, and the early kings of Lindsey seem to belong to the same generation. Such a name, once established, might well survive for a long time without definite consciousness of its significance.

Luton

LUTON 95 F 9

Lygetun 792 (c. 1250) BCS 264

Lygtun 917 A (c. 925) ASC

Ligtun 914 D (c. 1050) ASC

Loitone 1086 DB, 1158 P

Luitun, Luytun 1156 P, 1279 Ipm, c. 1300 Gaimar

Luiton(a), Luyton 1161 P *et passim* to 1415 BM

Luton 1195 FF *et passim*

Lutton 1240 Ass, 1342 Ipm, 1381 Cl

Louytone 1276 Ass

Lytone E 1 BM

Luton al. Lutton 1288 Ipm

Lowton 1291 Tax

Leuton 1293 Cl

Luton al. *Luyton* 1304 Ipm

L(o)ughton 1376 Cl

Luton Soke Hy 5 AD iii

Luton Soken 1590 BM

'Farm by the Lea river' *v.* Lea, R. *supra* 8. For the terms *Soke* and *Soken*, *v.* Eaton Socon *supra* 54.

BRACHE (Fm) (6")

la Brache 1276, 1287 Ass, 1422 IpmR

la Breche 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1426 IpmR

le Breyche 1376 IpmR

v. bræc. For this term, cf. Breach in *Maulden supra* 81.

BRAMINGHAM (GREAT and LITTLE)

Bramblehangre 1240 Ass (p)

Brembelhanger 1247 FF, Ass

Bremelhangre 1247 Ass, 1269, 1271 FF, 1287 Ass

Brambelhangre 1247 Ass

Bramhangre 1247 Ass

Brumelhangre 1276 Ass

Brimelhangre, *Brymelhangre* 1276 Ass

Bramleshangre 1276 Ass (p)

Bramelhangre 1287 Ass (p), 1324 Ch, 1504 Ipm

Bremerhangre 1287 Ass (p)

Brambelhanger 1290 AD iv, 1297 SR (p)

Brymbelhanger 1379 Cl

Brambleangre 1426 IpmR

Bramanger 15th HMC, Var iv

Braminger 1599 NQ i

It is stated in the VCH (ii. 363) that these two forms represent the ancient manor of Bramblehanger. If that is the case, it is clear that the old name must have undergone some archaising process, for the form *Bramingham* has not been traced back earlier than 1570 (cf. BHRS ii. 108). The old manorial name is a compound of OE bræm(b)el and hangra and the whole name means 'wood on a slope, with brambles growing in it.' The original site was perhaps the wood called now 'Great Bramingham Wood.' The normal development of this OE name is

found a few miles away in *Bramagar* Wood in East Hyde. The development of that name would however seem to be entirely independent of the manor in question.

COWRIDGE END [skəˈdʒend]

Curegge 1196 Whet i. 421

Kuruge 1202 FF

Curruge 1247 *Ass* (p)

Courigge 1276 *Ass*, 1327 Ipm

Courugg(e) 1297 *SR* (p), Ipm

'Cow-ridge' *v. cu*, *hrycg*.

DALLOW (Fm) (6")

Dolhou 1247 *Ass* (p)

(*la*) *Dolowe* 1287, 1307 *Ass* (p)

Dalleye 1359 Cl

The first element in this p.n. is possibly *dal* and the whole name descriptive of a hoh or spur of land which was held in common but in which various persons held portions or *doles*. Alternative forms in which OE *dāl* has become *dole*, the long vowel being kept under the influence of the independent word, and in which the OE long *a* was shortened in the compound, before it became *o*, account for the variant developments.

THE DOWNS (6")

la Dune 1276 *Ass* (p)

la Doune 1297 *SR* (p)

Self-explanatory.

FARLEY (Fm and Hill)

Ferleya juxta Lectonam Hy 2 (1285) Ch

Farlege 1201 FF, 1297 *SR* (p)

Fareleye 1276 RH, 1526 LS, 1590 NQ iii

Farle 1291 Tax

Fayreley Eliz ChancP

Farl(e)y Eliz ChancP

Though no *n* is found in the early forms this is clearly for OE *fearnleah*, 'fern or bracken-covered clearing.' Farley (Db, Sf, Sr, W, Wo) and Farlow (Sa) all have *fearn* as their first element, and in all alike forms without an *n* are found from early times.

GREATHAMPSTEAD (lost)

Grehamsted 1202 Ass (p)*Grethamstede* 1240 Ass, E 1 AD i, 1309 Ipm*Grethamstude* 1276 Ass (p)*Gretehamstede* 1504 Ipm

From OE *great* with second element *hamstede*, 'great *hamstede*,' or from OE *greet* from the soil.

LUTON HOO

le Hoo 1276 Ass*Hoo in Luton* 1480 Ipm*Luton How* 1782 Coll

v. hoh. Luton Hoo stands on a hill running down toward the Lea.

RUNLEY (Woods) (6")

Rindele, Ryndeale 1202 Ass (p), 1276, 1287 Ass, 14th Gest St Alb*Reyndel* 1287 Ass*Rundeale* 1287 Ass

No solution can be offered of this name. From the point of view of form the first element might be OE *rynel*, 'runnel,' but there seems to be no stream by the wood. (In that case we should have to take the *d* as epenthetic.) We have in OE a *hrindan broc* BCS 466 and *hrinde bearwas* (*Beowulf* 1363), now generally taken to be for *hrindede bearwas*, i.e. 'frost-covered groves.' Neither of these words would however explain ME *Rundeale* or the modern *Runley*. These and the other forms point to initial *Hry-* or *Ry-* in OE. Professor Ekwall suggests an OE *rȳmde*, 'cleared,' hence *rȳmdan leage*, 'cleared leah.'

STAPLEFORD (lost)

Stapelford 1274 Cl*Staplefordefolde* 1341 BM

Self-explanatory.

STOCKWOOD (olim *Whyperley*)*Wypereleya* Hy 2 (1285) Ch*Whyperley* 1156 Dugd vi. 11, 1393 IpmR

Whip(er)ly Eliz ChancP

Stockwood al. *Wypperley* 1640 BHRS v. 110

Professor Zachrisson suggests that the first element in this name may be the *whippultre* (v.l. *whip(p)il*, *wypul-*) in Chaucer's list of trees in the *Knight's Tale* (2065). That is usually taken to be the cornel-tree. For such a reduction we may compare Apperley (Nb) from *æppeltreo* and possibly Mapperley (Db) from *mapeltreo*. This would fit well with the suffix *leah*.

WOODCROFT (lost)

*Odecroft*¹ 1086 DB

Wodecroft 1297 SR, 1372 IpmR

Self-explanatory.

Pulloxhill

PULLOXHILL

Polochessele 1086 DB

Pollokeshill 1205 FF, 1287 Ass

Pollukeshull 1214 Abbr

Pulocheshella Hy 3 (1315) Ch (p)

Bulluckeshulle 1227 Ass

Pollokeshull 1228, 1236 FF, 1276, 1287 Ass, 1297 SR, 1337 Ipm

Pullokeshull 1242 Fees 890, 1260, 1270 FF, 1286 Dunst, 1313

BM, 1323 Ch, 1337 Ipm, 1346 FA, 1390-2 CS

Bolokeshill 1276 Ass

Pullukeshull 1286 Dunst

Poleshill 1287 Ass

Pullokeshill 1287 Ass

Pollekeshull 1337 Ipm

Pollexhulle, *Polloxhulle* 1428 FA

Polluxhull 1526 LS

Poloxhill 1577 AD iii

Pullockshill Eliz ChancP

One cannot get further with this name than Skeat's suggestion that the first element is a lost pers. name *Pulloc*, closely allied to ModE *Pollock*. The *Pollok-* forms may indeed contain that name or it may be that they are originally Anglo-Norman spellings with *o* for *u*, which for a time affected the pronunciation. Hence, 'Pulloc's hill,' v. hyll. Cf. Poulston (D), DB *Pollochestona*.

¹ In DB it is an old hundred name and the identification is not certain.

KITCHEN END

Kechyng, Kechinge 13th *Dunst*, E 1 BM

Kechingges 1286 *Dunst*

Kechyngg 1313 BM, 1331 QW

The only parallel to this difficult name which has been noted is Kitchingham (Sx) with a form *Kechenham* in 1242 BM. Professor Zachrisson suggests the possibility of an OE **Cyccingas* containing the pers. name **Cuca* found in *Cucan healas* (BCS 936), with *e* for *i* owing to the influence of the palatal *ch*.

UPBURY

Hubberia 1166 P

Hutberia 1168 P

Hutteberia 1174 P

Upbiri 1205 FF

Hudburi, Hutbyr' 13th *Dunst*

Utbiri 13th *Dunst*

Obury 1826 B

This manor (*v. burh*) could only have been called *Up* on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, for it is on some of the lowest ground in the parish. It does however lie in a remote corner of the parish and might well be described as the 'out manor.'

On the other hand, the fact that five out of seven medieval forms begin with *h* should not be ignored. There is no OE authority for an OE pers. name **Hutta* which would give the best origin of the 1174 form *Hutteberia* with double *t*, and trace of possible inflexion in the medial *e*, but a name *Hutting* which can only be a patronymic from such a name occurs in the 12th cent., and we have *Huttesbutt* in 1219 (FF) in Eynesbury (Hu), and all the forms of Upbury could readily be explained by derivation from an OE (*æt*) *Huttan byrig*. If this derivation is correct the history of the forms is that *tb* was assimilated to *db* or *bb* and the *db* was then dissimilated to *pb* regardless of the sense suggested by the new form.

Silsoe

SILSOE [silse] 95 A 9

Siuiuilessou, Sewilessou 1086 DB

Siuelisho 1175 P

Siuelesho, Syuelesho 1199 P *et passim* to 1330 Fine
Shiuelsho(u) 1242 Fees 890, 1316 Ipm
Siuelho 1276 Ass
Syuelso 1323 BM
Sevelesho 1419 IpmR
Sybylso 1479 IpmR, 1485 Ipm
Silshoo 1506 AD v
Sylsoo 1535 VE

'Sifel's hoh' or hill. The name *Sifel* is not on record, but it has an OGer cognate *Sibilo* (Förstemann PN) and is a diminutive of the same *Sif-* stem which occurs in the well-known *Sifeca*, mentioned in *Widsith* (219), the treacherous adviser of Ermanaric. The same name is found in Silsworth (Nth).

ACRE POND (6")

cf. *Pondfurlong* 1262 FF

Self-explanatory.

FIELDEN (House), FIELDING (Fm)

la Felde 1205 FF, 1286 Dunst

Fieldon Farm 1826 B

Probably descriptive of the open country (*v. feld*) in contrast to the wooded country in the north of the parish. The *en* is probably due to an alternative dat. pl. form (cf. Flitton and Ion *supra* 148, 151), the *ing* being a variant vulgarism (cf. Wilden *supra* 66).

WREST (Park)

Wrest 1185 P (p), 1421, 1430 IpmR

Wrast(e) 1276 RH, 1308, 1324 Ipm, 1329 Cl, 1331 QW, 1342 Cl, 1354 Ipm, 1388 Cl, 1389 IpmR, 1396 Cl, 1413 IpmR, 1610 Speed

Wrast or *Rest* c. 1750 Bowen

This name is difficult. OE *wræste*, 'delicate, noble,' which may form the base of the pers. name found in Wrestlingworth *supra* 112, seems unlikely here and Professor Ekwall suggests some other derivative of the stem of OE *wriðan*, 'to twist.' Norw has (*v*)*reist*, 'ring made of withies.' An OE *wræst*,

'something twisted,' may have existed, possibly in such a sense as 'thicket.' ON (*v*)*reistr* is used of *Midgarðsormr* and an element *vrēst* may occur in Swed names of lakes (Hellquist, *Studien över de Svenska Sjönamnen*, 728). It may be added that the ground round Wrest is much broken, and 'twisted, contorted' might be apt in a purely topographical sense.

Stopsley

STOPSLEY 95 E 9

Stoppelee 1199 FF (p)

Stopeleg, *Stopelee* 1201 Cur, 1240 Ass

Stoppeleg 1202 Ass, 1235 Cl

Stoppesle(gh) 1207 FF, 1227, 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1286 Dunst
et passim to 1504 Ipm

Stopeslegh 1247 Ass

Stop(p)isle(y) 1262 BM, 1487 Ipm

Stopeleye 1276 Ass

Stopesleye 1276 Ass, 1337 Ch, 1381 Cl

Stopley Eliz ChancP

Skeat and Ekwall (PN in *-ing* 71) are doubtless right in taking this to be from a pers. name *Stopp* found also in *Stoppingas*, the name of an archaic *provincia* now included in Warwickshire (BCS 157) and in Stopham (Sx).

CRAWLEY GREEN

Craulea 1196 Whet i. 421

'Crow-clearing' *v.* *crawe*. Cf. Husborne Crawley *supra* 118.

GALLEY HILL (6")

Galowehill 1504 Ipm

Self-explanatory.

MIXESHILL

Mix(e)weye 1276 Ass (p), 1297 SR (p)

If this identification is correct, the first part of this name is *Mixwey* from OE *meox-weg*, 'dung-road,' presumably so called because manure was carted along it.

RAMRIDGE END

Ramrugg 1227 Ass

Ramrigge 1240 Ass (p)

Ramerugge 1290 AD iv (p), 1297 SR (p)

'Ram-ridge' v. *ramm*, *hrycg* or 'raven-ridge,' v. *hræfn*.

SOMERIES

Somereis al. *Somereys* 1504 Ipm

The last trace of the manor of Greathampstead Someries, held by the Somery family from 1309 onwards (cf. VCH ii. 364).

WARDEN HILL

Wardonhill 1504 Ipm

A hill with a commanding view, overlooking the Icknield Way. Hence we may take it, like Warden *supra* 97, to be from OE *weard-dun*, 'watch-hill.'

Streatley

STREATLEY 95 C/D 8

Strætlea c. 1053 (c. 1250) KCD 920

Stradlei, *Straili*, *Stradli* 1086 DB

Stradlega, *Stradlee*, *Stradleg* 1166 P, 1242 Fees 887, 1247, 1276, 1287 Ass

Stredlea, *Stredle(y)* 1171 P, 1276, 1287 Ass

Stratleg(h), *Stratle(y)* 1231 Cl, 1247 Ass, 1275 Ipm, 1276 Ass, 1291 NI, 1297 SR, 1301 Ipm, 1302 FA, 1307 Ipm, Cl, 1316, 1346 FA, 1535 VE

Stretleg, *Stretleye*, *Stretle* 1231 Cl, 1287 Ass (*juxta Sewendon*), 1297 SR, 1390-2 CS, 1526 LS, 1766 J

Stradeleye 1276 Ass

Strettle 1305 Merton 400 (p)

Stretly 1806 Lysons

'The clearing by the *stræt*.' This 'street,' leading from Luton to Bedford, has not yet been proved to be a Roman road, and the term is probably descriptive only of a made-up road in contrast to an old track-way.

SHARPENHOE

Scarpeho 1197 FF*Serpenho* 1197 FF*Sarpenho* 1227, 1240 Ass, 1285 AD iv*Sherpenho* 1231 Cl*S(c)harpenho* 1232, 1241 FF *et passim**Scarpenho* 1240 Ass*Syarpenhou* 1267 Ch*Shappenho* 1316 Ch

OE *scearpan-hoge* (dat.), 'sharp spur of land,' aptly descriptive of the abrupt and steep promontory at the foot of which the village lies. *v.* hoh. For such a name, cf. *Scharphull* in Grafham (Hu), 13th AD iii.

Sundon

SUNDON 95 D 8

Sunnandun c. 1053 (c. 1250) KCD 920*Sonedone* 1086 DB, 1276 RH, 1286 Dunst*Sunendon*, *Sonnydon*, *Shonendon* 1247 Ass*Sunedon* 1247 Ass, 1286 Dunst*Sonendone* 1276 Ass (p), 1291 NI*Sonin(g)don*, *Sonyngdon* 1276, 1287 Ass, 1315, 1322 Ch, 1328

Ipm, 1330 AD i, 1339 Ipm, 1372 Cl, 1373 IpmR

Sunyngdon 1287 Ass*Sundon* 1390-2 CS*Sondon* 1489, 1499 Ipm*Soundon* 1535 VE

'Sunna's hill' *v.* dun. This pers. name is not known apart from place-names, but is presumably a shortened form of one of the OE names in *Sun-*, e.g. *Suneman*. It may be inferred as a name from the present example and from Sunbury (Mx), *Sunnanbyrig* BCS 1063, Sonning (Berks), earlier *Sunninges*. For the element *Sun-* in OE pers. names cf. Somersham *infra* 222.

IX. CLIFTON HUNDRED

Cliftone, *Clistone* 1086 DB

The meeting-place of the Hundred was presumably at, or near, Clifton, but the exact site is unknown. Clifton itself lies on the northern edge of the Hundred.

Arlesey

ARLESEY 95 A 12

Alricheseia 1062 (12th) KCD 813, 1086 DB

Alrichesei(e), *-eye* 1086 DB, 1247 *Ass*, 1251 BM, 1276 *Ass*,
1306, 1317 Ch, 1322 Cl, Ipm, 1325 Cl, 1331 *Fine*, 1340 FA,
1349 Cl, 1359 Ipm, 1386 Cl

Alricesei 1086 DB

Ailricheseia, *Aylricheseye* 1202 *Ass*, 1206 BM, 1224 FF, 1227

Ch, 1242 Fees 882, 1247 *Ass*, 1253 Ch, 1254 BM, 1316 FA

Auricheseye 1220 LS, Hy 3 BM, 1287 *Ass*

Aillrikesheye 1227 *Ass*

Eylricheseye 1227 *Ass*

Eluricheseye 1227 *Ass*

Aluricheseya 1247 *Ass*

Hawricheseia 1255 BM

Alverycheseye 1270 Ch

Alrecheseye 1302 FA, 1331 *Fine*, 1350 Cl, 1438 AD iv

Alfricheseye 1307 *Ass*

Arlicheseye, *Arlycheseye* 1307 Ipm, 1402 BM, 1420, 1443
IpmR

Arlechay 1386 BM

Arlechesey 1438 AD iv

Arlesey 1492 Ipm

Arseley al. *Alsey* 16th BHRS viii. 140

‘Aelfric’s well-watered land,’ eg being used in its wider sense. Skeat suggested that the pers. name was *Aeðelric*, but forms unknown to him disprove this suggestion, though some of the earlier forms in *Ail-* look as though early confusion with that name took place¹. As a rule, after the Conquest, names in *Aelf-* and names in *Ael-* from *Aeðel-* are kept carefully apart. Confusion was however possible. The same person e.g. is described as *Hugo filius Alwini* in an original charter (Hy ii), *Hugo filius Ailwini* in the Pipe Roll for 1189, and *Hugo filius Elfwine* in an Assize Roll of 1202.

ARLESEY BURY (6")

Arlesey Berry 1667 BHRS ii. 141

¹ There is a second Arlesey (lost) in Cople (Beds), for which we have the form *Ailricheshei* (*Warden* 84).

ETONBURY (6")

Eatonsberry 1667 BHRS ii. 141

These two names are relics of the two chief manors in Arlesey. *v. burh.* *Eton* as usual denotes island, or well-watered farm.

Campton

CAMPTON 95 A 10

Chambeltone 1086 DB

Camelton, Kamelton c. 1150 BM, 1176, 1180, 1185 P, c. 1180-90 NLC, 1189-96 NLC, 1185 Rot Dom *et passim* to 1548 Pat

Kamerton 1152-8 NLC

Kametona 1155 NLC

Cameltun c. 1172-5 (13th) *Dunst*, 1180 P

Gamelton 1177 P, 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1291 Tax

Gamelinton 1276 *Ass*

Cameletone 1316 FA

Camulton 1334 Pat

Cambelton 1356 Cl, Ipm

Gameleton 1393 IpmR

Camulton 1400 CS

Campton 1526 LS

Campton al. *Camelton* c. 1550 *Linc*

Cambleton 1610 Speed

Skeat was probably right in conjecturing that we have here to do with a lost river-name. The name would be that of the un-named stream which ultimately joins the Hiz and with it soon joins the Ivel. Skeat quotes the doubtful parallel of the Camel River (Co), famous in Arthurian story. There would seem also to have been a derivative form of this river-name ending in *-ar* or *-er*. The stream now known as Cam Brook, which flows into Wellow Brook just before it joins the Avon a few miles south of Bath, is called *Camelar* or *Cameler* in BCS 1073. On its banks are Camerton, DB *Camerlertone* (sic) and Cameley, DB *Camelei*. From this it is clear that there is ample justification for assuming a river-name *Camel* or *Camelar*. We may explain the Bedford *Kamer-* forms as due to the common Anglo-Norman confusion of *l* and *r* or perhaps still better as due to the original name having been *Camelerton*. The forms of Cameley (So), in which

no trace of the *r* is ever found, show how early it could be lost. The forms with initial *g* are due to association with names like *Gamlingay* from OE *gamol* or may be simply examples of the common confusion in ME place-names of initial *c* and *g* (cf. IPN 114). The *b* of the Domesday form may be compared with a *b* in similar position in the Domesday form of Hamerton, Hunts (*infra* 242). Tamerton (D), which is certainly derived from the river Tamar, appears as *Tambretone* in DB.

Chicksands Priory

CHICKSANDS [tʃiksəndz], [tʃiksən] 84 J 16

Chichesane 1086 DB

Chikesham 1152-8, 1155 NLC

Chi(c)chesant 1156, 1158 P

Chichesand 1159 P

Chikes(s)ant 1161 P, 1196 FF, 1203 Cur, 1237 Cl, 1244 FF

Chichessand, Chichesham 1162 P

Chiksond 1163-79 BHRS i. 118

Chik(k)essand 1185 P, 1276 Ass

Chikesand c. 1190 (c. 1230) Warden 13, 1198 Fees 10 *et passim*

Chikes(s)ond, Chyk- 1202 Ass, 1220 LS, 1297 SR, 1310 Cl, 1316 FA, 1325 Cl, 1346 FA, 1361, 1385 Cl

Chikes(s)aunde 1227 Ass, 1232, 1236 FF, 1244 Cl, 1247 Ass, 1285 Ch, 1302 FA, 1316 HMC Var iv

Chiksaund 1227 Ass, 1273 Cl

Chikesaunt 1240 Ass

Chikesend 1242 Fees 887

Chijkesond 1250 Fees 1180

Chikesonden(e) 1287, 1307 Ass, c. 1370-1420 Linc *passim*

Chiksanden 1287 Ass

Chikesand Dene c. 1300 Linc

Chikeshanden 1307 Ass

Chikesaundene 1317 HMC Var iv

Chiksand 1327 Cl

Chik-, Chyksond 1359, 1386 Cl, 1400 CS

Chixham 1388 Cl

Chiksonden c. 1390-1400 Linc (five times)

Chikessounde dene 1428 FA

Chyxsond 1457 Ipm

Chickson 1655 NQ i

The suffix is the ordinary word *sand*. The soil here is sand (VCH ii. 271). The first element is an OE name *Cicca* which occurs again in Chickney, Essex (DB *Ciccheneia*). A variant of this name, with palatalised second consonant, is found in Chicheley (PN Bk 33), and a Latinised form *Cichus* (Redw 38) is recorded. Here we have an unpalatalised form. The forms with suffixed *-en(e)* which appear towards the end of the 13th cent. are difficult. Probably they point to an alternative dat. pl. form in *-sanden* (OE *sandum*). Such forms seem peculiarly common in Beds, cf. Flitton, Ion, Fielden *supra* 148, 151, 162. The form with *Dene* in the Lincoln Registers might be a piece of folk-etymology, but it is unlikely in so conservative and highly formal a series of records as a Bishop's register. It is however possible that this and similar forms should be compared with the curious form *Wicumbedene* for High Wycombe found in the earliest Pipe Rolls of Henry ii. A medieval use of *dene*, of unexplained origin, to denote a district dependent upon or annexed to a place is not impossible. It seems indeed to have survived in the name Taunton *Dean* for the great manor of Taunton.

It is of course conceivable that there was a form *Chikesand-dene* with the ordinary word *dene* (v. *denu*) suffixed, but there does not seem to be a sufficiently well-marked valley here to make such a new development likely, though in the Warden Cartulary (19 b) we have mention of a *Grenedene* in Chicksand.

The whole name means 'Cicca's sands.'

APPLEY

Appeleia c. 1150 BM

Appele 1276 Ass (p), 1287 Ass

Appelaya, boscus de Hy 2 BHRS i. 118

'Apple-tree clearing' v. *æppel*, *leah*.

Clifton

CLIFTON 84 J 11.

Cliftune 944-6 (c. 1250) BCS 812

Cliftone, Clistone 1086 DB

Clyfton juxta Schefford c. 1350 Linc

Self-explanatory, though the name is a good illustration of the fact that in OE place-nomenclature it does not take much to make a 'cliff.'

THE GRANGE

Grangefeld 1276 Ass (p)

Self-explanatory.

HOO HILL

le Ho 1242 Fees 869 (p)

One more example of this favourite Beds p.n. element.
v. hoh.

Henlow

HENLOW 95 A 11/12

Haneslauue, *Hanslau*, *Hanslaue*, *Haneslau* 1086 DB

Hanelawe Hy 2 (1261) Ch, 14th Gest St Alb

Hanlaga 1202 Ass

Hennelawe 1207 FF, 1287 Ass

Hanlawe 1220 LS

Henlawe 1227 Ch, Ass, 1242 Fees 867, 1247 Ass, 1253 FF,
1276 Ass, RH, 1299 Ipm, 1399 Ch

Anelawe 1227 Ass

Hanlowe 1276 Ass

Hannelowe 1282 Abbr

Henlowe 1302 FA *et passim*

Apart from the Domesday forms, with an inflexional *s* for which there is no support, all the spellings of this name point to derivation from OE *hænna-hlāw*, 'fowls' hill' (v. *hlaw*), with the same development of ME forms in *Han-* as well as in *Hen-* from OE *æn* which we have in Fancott and Dane End *supra* 137, 153. In these last two names, however, the *an-* forms have prevailed. If this derivation is correct, the name is exceptional, for OE *hlaw* is usually preceded either by an adjective (cf. Goldenlow *supra* 120) or, most commonly, by a pers. name.

Meppershall

MEPPERSHALL [mepʃul] 95 A 10

Malpertesselle, *Maperteshale* 1086 DB

Maperteshala Steph (1313) Ch, 1190 P, 1198 Fees 10

- Meperteshale* 1200, 1206 FF *et passim* to 1490 Ipm
Mainpardeshal 1203 FF
Maperteshale Hy 2 (1255), 1202 Ass, 1220 LS, 1224 Bract,
 1247 Ass, 1255 Ch
Mepardeshale 1227 Ass, 13th AD ii
Mauperteshal' 1233 Bract
Meperdes hale 1247 Ass, 1244-52, 1285 Ch, 1302 FA, 1445 AD iii
Meper(e)shale 1316 FA, 1369 Fine
Mepersale 1331 Ipm
Meparteshale 1347 Pat
Mapartysshall, Meppertyshall 1494 Ipm
Mepersall 1526 LS, Eliz ChancP
Mepsall 1610 Speed, 1635 NQ i
Meppershall or *Mepshall* 1806 Lyons

'Mathalperhts's nook or corner of land' *v.* healh. The pers. name in question is the OHG form of an OE name *Mæðelbeorht*, supposing such to have existed. *Mæðel-* names are very rare in OE, *Mæthelgār*, from which Maugersbury (Gl) is derived, is the clearest instance, and *Mæðelbeorht* has not yet been found. Förstemann gives several examples of *Madalper(a)ht*, and it is probable that here we have to do with a late settler or, more probably, some king's thegn of continental origin who became possessed of this piece of land. On the other hand, the name was clearly recognised as the equivalent of an English name in *Mæðel-*, as thus only can we account for the development of *Mep-* forms, which ultimately triumphed over the *Map-* ones which would be the normal development of a name in *Mathal-*. This does indeed suggest the possibility that the name was really OE *Mæðelbeorht* and that the *p* was due to an unconscious assimilation of this extremely rare English name to its continental cognate.

Hoo (Fm)

le Hoo 1393 AD iv

v. hoh.

POLEHANGER *olim* [pulingə]

Polehangre 1086 DB, 1247 Ass

Pullehang' 1198 Fees 10

Polhangre 1220 LS (p), 1276 Ass (p)

Pulehangre 1227 Ass

Pulhangre 1247 Ass, 1291 Tax, 1402 BHRS i. 102

Pollehangre 1276 Ass (p)

Pullanger 1445 AD iv, 1461, 1483 IpmR, 1490 Ipm

Pullenger Eliz ChancP

It is natural to translate this name as 'pool-wood,' *v.* *pol*, *hangra*. The ground slopes down fairly steeply to the farm. If this explanation is correct the pool must be one in the Ivel near the place, for there is no other neighbouring pool¹. In view of this difficulty, the possibility should not be ignored that the first element here represents a pers. name. The existence of *Pul*, *Pol*, as the base of such a name is proved by the diminutive form *Pulloc* or *Polloc* which occurs in Pulloxhill, cf. also Pulworthy (D), earlier *Poleworthi*. It is worth noting that half the forms earlier than 1300 show an *e* between the *l* and the *h*, which may be the remnant of an inflexional *an*. Moreover, if the name were a compound of *pol* and *hangra*, the forms of 1198 and 1276 would be at least abnormal. They suggest strongly derivation from a weak pers. name with a double consonant, *Pulla* or *Polla*.

WOODHALL (Fm)

cf. *atte Wode* 1445 AD iv (p)

Self-explanatory.

Shefford

SHEFFORD 84 J 10/11

Seppford 1220 LS

Shipford 1229 Cl

Sheppford 1247 FF

Sefford 1247 Ass, 1251 BM

S(c)hefford 1262, 1271 FF

Che(f)ford 1276 Ass, 1361 Cl

Sheford 1276 Ass, 1297 Ipm

Schyford, *Chyford* 1287 QW

Schepeford 1307 Ass

'Sheep-ford' *v.* *sceap*, *ford*.

¹ *ex inf.* the Rev. R. Isherwood.

SHEFFORD BRIDGE

pons ad caput villae de Shefford 1276 Ass

Skegfordbregge 1287 Ass

Self-explanatory. The 1287 form shows a curious effort at Scandinavianising the name.

Shillington

SHILLINGTON 95 B 10

Scytlingedune 1060 (14th) KCD 809

Sethlindone 1086 DB

Scetlingedon 1202 P

Scetlingdon 1207 P

Sutlingedon 1220 LS

Setlingdon 1221 FF

S(c)hitlingdon 1222 FF, 1276 Ass

Sut(h)lingdon 1227 Ass, 1265 BM, 1266 ADi, 1286 Dunst

Sytlingdon 1227 Ass

Schutlingdon 1236 FF

Shutlingedon 1239 FF

Sitlingedon 1240 Ass

Sutlindon 1242 Fees 869

S(c)hittlingdon 1247 Ass, FF (p)

S(c)hitlingdon 1251 Ch, 1256, 1258, 1261 FF, 1272, 1276 Ass,
1294 BM, 1388 Cl, 1397 AD i, 1415 BM, 1504 Ipm

Schitlingedon 1253 BM

Schetlindon 1262 FF

Sitelyn(g)don 1276 Ass

Shittelington 1276 Ass

S(c)hutlyngdon, -ingdon 1276 Ass, 1291 NI, 1297 SR, 1316
FA, 1332 Ipm, 1333 Cl, 1338 AD i, 1351, 1368, 1381 Cl

S(c)helyngdon 1287 Ass, 1400 CS

Schettlingdon 1287 Ass

Schudlyngton 1287 Ass

S(c)hytlington, Shitlington 1287 Ass, 1368 Cl, Eliz ChancP,
1780, 1820, 1830 Jury

Shutlyngdene 1302, 1316 FA

Shutlyndon 1327 Cl

Shutlyngton 1367 Orig, 1372 Cl

Shetlington, Shetlyngton 1526 LS, 1535 VE

Shedlington 1675 Ogilby

Shidlington 1675 Ogilby, 1780 Jury

Shilindon 1780 Jury

'Hill of Scyttel's people' *v. dun, inga*. The existence of this pers. name is made certain by Shitlington (Y, Nb), and Sheepstor and Sheepsbyre (D), earlier *Schetelestorre, Shitelesbere*. Cf. more fully PN NbDu 178¹.

APSLEY END

Aspele 1230 Bract, 1253 Ch

The same as Aspley *supra* 113.

BURY END

Shitlington Bury 1409 AD vi

The 'manor' farm, *v. burh*.

CHIBLEY (Fm)

Chubele 1255 (c. 1350) Rams (p)

Chybbeler 1301 Ct

'Ceobba's clearing' (*v. leah*). For this pers. name we may compare Chibley (So) which is *Chubbeleye* (1305 Ipm) and Chubworthy in the same county, DB *Cibewrde*, Ipm 1285 *Chubbeworthe*.

FEAKS WELL (lost)

Fageswell 1218 CIR, 1276 Ass, 1303 KF (p)

Faggesswell 1247 Ass, 1287 Ass (p)

Fagewell 1276 Ass

Faukerwell 1291 AD iv (p)

Feaks Well 1766 J

Professor Ekwall suggests the parallel of *Fackeswell* in London in a Fine of 1291. We may note also Faxton (Nth), 1166 *Fachestuna*. There is evidence for an OE pers. name *Facca* in Faccombe (Ha), *Faccancumb* Thorpe 534, and in *Faccanleah* (BCS 1232), allied to the pers. name *Fecca* found in Feckenham (Wo). It is found as *Fache* in the Selby Cartulary (i. 205, 224) in the 13th cent. In its strong form *Fæcc* a gen. *Facces* may at times

¹ Shillington was divided between Flitt and Clifton Hundreds. Aspley, Bury and Pegsdon were in the former.

have become *Fagges* (v. Cople, Moggerhanger, Cogswell *supra* 89, 91, 98). The later phonological development is wholly irregular.

HANSCOMBE END

Hanescamp 1222 FF (p)

Hameschaump 1227 Ass (p)

Hanescompe 1255 (c. 1350) Rams, 1287 Ass (p), 1297 SR (p)

The second element is the somewhat rare OE *camp*, 'open country,' which nearly always appears now as *combe* on our maps. Professor Ekwall suggests the possibility of an OE pers. name *Hān* (cf. *hān*, 'hone') from which we seem to have a derivative patronymic form in Honing (Nf). Cf. also Hannington (Nth) with shortening of *ā* in the trisyllable.

HOLWELLBURY

Helewell 1195 P

Holewell 1197 FF (p)

Magna, Parva Holewell 1242 Fees 869

Parva Hollewell 1276 Ass

Holewellebury 1420 Ipm

Hollowell Eliz ChancP

'Holwell manor' v. burh.

Some of the above forms refer to Holwell itself, which is in Herts.

PEGSDON [pegsən]

Pechesdone 1086 DB

Pekesdene 1114-30 (c. 1350) Rams, 1228 FF, 1247 Ass, 1255

(c. 1350) Rams, 1264 AD iii, 1265 BM, 1266 AD i, 1276

Ass (p), 1287 Ass, 1290 Cl, 1297 SR (p)

Pekedene 1205 FF

Peckesden 1227 Ass, 1287 Ass

Pikelesdene 1227 Ass

Pekeslesdene 1227 Ass

Pakesden 1227 Ass

Pachesdena 1230 Bract

Pekesdon 1240 Ass, 1247 Ass, 1276 Ass (p), 1302 FA

Peckesden 1287 Ass

Pexden 1350 BM

Pegson c. 1750 Bowen, 1766 J

Professor Ekwall has contributed the following note upon this name:

The first element is identical with the p.n. *Pek* found as surname of a tenant in Pegsdon (*Miles de Pek* Rams Cart i. 471) as noted by Skeat. With this *Pek* may be compared *Pec*, the name of a place in Ganton (Y), also in the compounds *Pekespit*, *Pekesbru* (all in a 13th cent. ch. in the Bridlington Cart), and also the well-known *Peak* (Db). The latter appears in OE sources as *Peac* (cf. *Peaclond* ASC 924, *Pecsætan* Trib Hid). Curiously enough there is an early compound in which also this name appears in the gen. form, viz. *Peak's Arse* (Peak Cavern) *Pechesers* DB. v. Addenda. There is good reason to believe that the name in all three cases originally denoted a hill. As for *Peak* there can hardly be any doubt. Henry of Huntingdon mentions the mountain (mons) called *Pec*. The name appears to have been originally applied to Castle Hill at Castleton. *Pec* (Y) is preceded by *supra*, and *Pekesbru* must contain OE *brū*, 'brow,' here in the sense 'brow of a hill' (perhaps the earliest known instance of this meaning). Ganton is on the slope of a considerable hill, which may have been known as *Pek*. East and West *Peek* (D), DB *Pech*, are on a hill rising to 569 ft. Further we may note that Pegsdon is at the foot of a very well-marked and steep hill. If this suggestion is correct, Pegsdon would mean '*Pek* hill' and be a formation analogous to *Andredesweald* and the like. It should be added that the identity of the first element of Pegsdon with *Peak* is suggested already by Johnston, *PN of England*.

If the three names have a common origin, the base must be OE *pēac*, which may be taken to be an old hill-name. We expect the name of a hill such as the *Peak* to have a pre-English name, but the form of the name with its diphthong *ēa* rather suggests Germanic origin, and if the three *peks* are etymologically identical, Germanic origin becomes still more probable. There is a well-known Germanic stem *puk*, *pauk*, found in Du *pōk*, 'a dagger,' Swed *påk*, 'a cudgel,' Engl *poke*, *pock*, *Puck*, etc., Norw dial. *pauk*, 'a stick, a little boy,' etc. Words belonging to this group

often denote a rounded object, a thick-set figure and the like. A meaning 'knoll, hill' would easily develop from that. The exact counterpart of OE *pēac* would be the Norw *pauk*, though the meaning is rather different.

UPTON END

Uppennende 1255 (c. 1350) Rams 465, 1294 *Ct* (BM) (p)

Opton 1276 *Ass*

This apparently simple name is not easy. *Uppenende* would seem to be simply a compound of OE *uppan*, 'upon,' and *ende*, and one could conceive of a man being called Ricardus *Uppenende*, 'Richard at the end of the parish,' but Ricardus *de Uppenende* is a little strange. In the first example *Uppenende* is given as the name of a hamlet in Shillington. One can only suggest that the hamlet was at first called 'At the end' (OE *uppan ende*) and that later the name was corrupted to a fresh and more usual form. Association with *up* is out of the question as this 'end' is distinctly one of the lower 'ends' of Shillington parish.

WOODMER END

Wodemenende 1255 (c. 1350) Rams (p)

Wodemanende 1297 *SR* (p)

Wodemannande 1300 *Hunts Ct Rolls* (PRO) (p)

Woodmore End 1766 J

'Woodman's or woodmen's end' *v. ende*.

Upper Stondon

UPPER STONDON 95 A II

Standone 1086 DB *et passim* to 1712 BM

Staundon 1199 FF, 1276, 1287 *Ass*, 1291 Tax, AD iv

Stondon(e) 1247 *Ass*, 1252 FF, 1276, 1297 *Ass*, 1302, 1316,

1346 FA, 1388 Cl, 1390-2 CS, 1428 FA

Great Stondon 1320 Ipm

Overstondon 1504 Ipm

'Stony-hill' *v. stan*, *dun*. *Over* is the regular earlier epithet for places now called *Upper*.

Stotfold

STOTFOLD 95 A 13

Stodfald 1007 Crawf 11, 1193 P, 1202 FF, 1203 Cur (p),
1227 Ass*Stotfalt* 1086 DB*Stotfald* 1198 FF, Hy 3 (1317) Ch*Stotfold* 1199 FF, 1232, 1242 FF, 1287 Ass, 1302 FA *et*
*passim**Stotfaud* c. 1200 BM, 1227 Ass, 1276 Ass*Stofaude* 1202 Ass, 1236 FF*Stodfold* 1227 Ass, 1244 FF*Stodfauld* 1227 Ass*Stodfaud* 1247 Ass*Stotfeld*, *Stotfeud* 1276 Ass*Stotfolt* 1287 Ass*Stottesfold* or *Stotfold* 1343 Ipm*Statfold(e)* Eliz ChancP, 1780 Jury

'Stud-enclosure,' *v.* *stodfald*, but, for a possible further significance of the name, *v.* IPN 151.

WILLBURY HILL FARM

Wiligbyrig 1007 Crawf 11

The *bury* here is clearly the camp on Willbury Hill, the whole name being 'willow-camp.' *v.* *welig*, *wylig*.

Kensworth

(Formerly in Hertfordshire)

KENSWORTH 95 F/G 7

Canesworde 1086 DB*Kenesword* 1131-3 (13th) *Dunst*, 1286 *Dunst**Keneswurda* 1168 P (p)*Keneswurth* R i (1227) Ch, 1247 Ass, 1286 *Dunst et passim**Keneswrthe* 1227 Ass*Kemeswurth* 1247 Ass*Kensworth* 1286 *Dunst*, 1299, 1302 AD iii, 1402 AD i

Kensworth 1375, 1416 AD vi

Kennesworth 1431 AD i, 1434 AD iii, 1435 AD ii

'Cen's enclosure' *v. worð*. The pers. name *Cēn* or *Cēn* is on record in OE and is a pet-form of one of the numerous names in *Cēn-*.

SLOUGH WOOD (6")

de la Sclo 1297 SR (p)

Self-explanatory.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

I. NORMANCROSS HUNDRED

Norðmannescros 963 E (12th) ASC

Normannes cros 963-84 (c. 1200) BCS 1128, Stephen (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 9 b

Normanescros 1086 DB

Normanecros 1086 DB

Normancros Wm 2 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 8 a, 1255 *For*, 1292 *Fine*

Normannecros 1160 P, 1227 *Ass*

Normannescros Stephen (1314) Ch

Norman Cross stood on Ermine Street where it is crossed by the road from Yaxley to Folksworth. It stands roughly at the centre of the group of parishes which form the Hundred. The name is interesting for it, like that of Toseland Hundred, is clearly of Scandinavian origin. The first element is not the word *Norman* but the older *Norðman* applied by the Anglo-Saxons to those Scandinavians who came from Norway, and used also as a pers. name descriptive of some one from that country. It is clear that it is in the latter sense that the word is used here, but who the particular *Norðman* was who thus gave his name to the cross we do not know. *cros* is itself a Norse loan-word (*v. EPN s.v.*), and it is interesting to note that in the only hundred-names in which the meeting-place is, by the very name, indicated as the site of a cross, we have this Scandinavian loan-word and not the English *rod* or *mæl*, though it is just possible that *tree*-names which are fairly common as hundred-names may sometimes refer to a cross rather than to a living tree. Other examples of *cross* in hundred-names are Brothercross and Giltcross in Norfolk and Staincross and Buckrose in Yorkshire. Presumably there was some earlier Anglo-Saxon name for this Hundred, now lost.

Alwalton

ALWALTON [ælətən] 74 A 10

Aefelwoldingtun 955 (c. 1200) BCS 909

Alwoltune 1086 DB

Alevoltone c. 1125 (c. 1200) Lib Niger de St Petroburg

Æðelwoltun' 1158 P

Alwoldton 1176 P (p)

Alewalton 1189 (1332) Ch, 1227 Ch, *Ass*, 1292 Orig, 1300 Ch

Ayllewalton 1245 *For*

Alwalton 1268 Ch, 1316, 1428 FA

Aylwalton 1270 *Ass* (p), 1286 *Ass*, QW, *For*

Alwaldon 1292 Fine, Orig

Alerton 1610 Speed

Allerton 1675 Ogilby

Alwalton or *Allerton* c. 1750 Bowen

'Æðelweald-farm' *v.* *ingtun*. The form found in DB and later is not to be regarded as a reduction of the fuller OE form but rather as an alternative name in which the pers. name was directly prefixed to *tun* without any use of either the *-ing-* element or, what is even more rare, any use of the genitival suffix in *-es*.

Caldecote

CALDECOTE 74 C 10

Caldecote 1086 DB *et passim*, 1286 *Ass* (*cum Denton*)

Caudecote 1248 *For*

Coldecote 1301 Cl

Calcote 1504 Ipm, 1514 LP

Calcot(t) 1526 LS, 1610 Speed

Caldecote al. *Calcott* 1551, 1570 FF

Cawcott 1576 Saxton

'Cold cottages' *v.* *cald*, *cot*.

Chesterton

CHESTERTON 74 A 10

Ceastertuninga gemærie (sic) 955 (c. 1200) BCS 909

Cestretuna 1086 DB, 1184 BM

Cestreton, *Cesterton* 1192 BM, 1217 Pat, 1227 *Ass*, 1257 FF,

Ch, 1260 *Ass*, 1286 Cl, *Ass*, 1290 Ipm, 1303 FA, 1304

AD v, 1316 FA, 1326 FF

Chesterton, *Chestreton* 1345 Ipm, Fine, 1362 Cl, 1428 FA

Chasterton 1355 FF, 1362 Cl

'Farm by the ceaster,' the reference here being clearly to the Roman camp at Durobrivæ. *v.* *tun*.

Conington

CONINGTON [kənɪŋtən] 74 D 11

æt Cunictune 957 BCS 1003*Cunintone* c. 1030 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 79, 1227 *Ass**Coninctune* 1086 DB*Cunitona* c. 1180 BM*Cunnington* 1214 *Fine*, 1662 *Fuller**Cunington*, -yng- 1227 *Ass*, 1237 Cl, 1296 FF*Coniton*, -yt- 1235 Cl, E 1 BM, 1303 FA, 1328 FF, 1330 Cl,
Ipm*Cunytun* 1236 Cl*Conyngton*, *Conington* E 1 BM, 1290 Cl, 1317 FA, 1318, 1320,
1350 Cl *et passim**Conynton* 1283, 1294 Cl, 1323 Ch, 1353 Cl*Connyngton* 1585 FF*Conington* or *Cunnington* c. 1750 *Bowen*

The history of this name is not certain. On the whole the probability is that here and also in Conington (C), *Cunnington* BCS 1306¹, we have a Scandinavianising of OE *Cyning-tun* or *Cyne-tun*, 'king-farm' or 'royal-farm,' under the influence of ON *konungr*. The more usual form both in OE and ON is with a genitival suffix, but we do find in Old English *Cyngtun* (BCS 1234) now Kinton (Wa) and the same form (KCD 570) for Kington (Wo), while Kingston Bagpuize (Berks) appears without an -es in *Cingtuninga gemære* (BCS 1047). Skeat's suggestion of derivation from an OE pers. name *Cun(n)a* is, on the whole, less probable.

BRUCE'S CASTLE FARM

The Bruce family held Conington manor (cf. FF 1321).

CONINGTON BROOK (6")

Todbrok 1411 Ct*Totebroke* 1488 Ct (T. S. H.)²

¹ It is perhaps worthy of note that the *Textus Roffensis*, as quoted in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (2nd series), iii. 49, gives an OE form *cunigtun* for this name, which affords a good parallel to *Cunictun*.

² The initials T. S. H. indicate our indebtedness to the kindness of Mr T. S. Heathcote.

'Fox-brook,' if we take the first element to be ME *tod*, 'fox,' though there are difficulties in doing so as that word is distinctively a North Country word, at any rate in early usage. If *Tote-* is the correct form, with later voicing of *t* to *d* before *b*, then the first element would seem to be the pers. name *Tota*.

CONINGTON FEN

mariscus de Conyngton 1253 *For*

ETERNITY HALL

'From a nickname given to Edward Smith who lived there from 1845 to 1896' (T. S. H.).

OUTERNESS WOOD (6")

Utyrness 1483 *Ct*

Le Utyrness 1498 *Ct* (T. S. H.)

Utterness Estate Map c. 1600, 1772 *Rent Book* (T. S. H.)

'Outer-ness' *v.* næss, ME *utter* being the earlier comparative form of *out*, now replaced by *outer*. The reference is to a clay promontory jutting out into the Fens. It is probably the 'outer' ness in contrast to *La Nesse* mentioned in 1279 (RH), which Mr Heathcote identifies with the site of Bruce's Castle.

Denton

DENTON 74 C 11

Dentun 972-92 (c. 1200) BCS 1130

Dentone 1086 DB *et passim*, 1327 *SR* (*cum Caldecote*), c. 1400

Linc (*juxta Stilton*), c. 1415 *ib.* (*prope Jakesle*)

Situation and form alike make it clear that this is OE *denu-*tun, 'valley farm,' rather than 'farm of the Danes.'

Elton

ELTON 74 A 9

Æþelingtun, Æilintun 972-92 (12th) BCS 1130

Adelintune 1086 DB

Aethelyngtone 1123-36 (c. 1350) Rams

Ailincton Hy 2 BM

Adelington 1199 Cur

Ail(l)inton 1207 *P*, 1209 *For*

Ayl(D)ington, Aylyngton 1215 FF, 1244 (c. 1350) Rams, 1260
Ass, 1267-85 AD iv, 1285 FF, 1291 NI, 13th AD i, 1304
 AD v, 1316 FA, 1327 Cl, 1355 FF

Eylinton 1227 *Ass*

Elinton 1227 *Ass*

Aylingeton 1248 FF

Athelinton, Ethelintun 1253 BM

Eylington 1260 *Ass*

Alyngton 1288, 1295 FF, 1392 BM, 1501 Ipm

Alynton 1303 Orig

Aylyngton al. *Aileton* 1517 BM

Aylton, Ailton 1535 VE, 1539, 1549 BM, 1593 FF

'Æðel's farm' v. *ingtun*, *Æþel* being a shortened form of one of the numerous OE pers. names in *Æðel*-.

BOTOLPH GREEN (6")

Bottle Green 1766 J, 1826 G

Pottle Green 1836 O

If we could recover the early forms of this name we should probably find that its history was the same as that of Botolph Bridge, viz. that it was named first after St Botolph, then by a process of popular corruption became Bottle Green, and that finally some polite antiquarian or map-maker restored the full name of the saint.

DERNFORD (lost)

Derneforde 1164 BM, 1279 RH

water of Dernford 1589 FF

'Hidden ford' (v. *dierne*, *ford*). So effectually is it hidden that none is marked on the O.S. map, but it may be presumed that it was where a foot-path leads away from the river-bank just across the Nen from Elton village.

THE GREEN (6")

ad Grenam 1303 SR (p)

Self-explanatory.

OVER END

cf. *Netherhende* 1218 (c. 1350) Rams

Neyerhende 1279 RH

No early form for the *Over* or *Upper* End has been noted, but it clearly stood in contrast to a *Nether* End. *Over* End is at the top end of the village.

Farcet

FARCET [fæsat] 74 A 12

Fearresheafde (dat.) 955-9 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 6 b, c. 1000
Cragg

Farresheafde (dat.) 963-84 (c. 1200) BCS 1128

Faresheued 963-84 (c. 1200) BCS 1128, 1278 *Ass*, 1316 FA,
1327 SR (p), 1353 Ch

Farresheued c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 168 b

Fayresheued 1260 *Ass*

Farisheued 1260 *Ass*

Farsheued 1260 *Ass*, 1279 RH, 1327 SR

Fersheued 1260 *Ass*

Fasset(t) 1526 LS, 1576 Saxton, 1595 FF

'Bull's head' *v.* *fearr*, *heafod*. For the possible significance of names of this type, *v.* *Swineshead supra* 21.

FARCET BRIDGE and FEN

Faresheved Brygg, Fen 1279 RH

KING'S DELPH GATE

Cynges dælf 963 E (c. 1200) ASC

Cnoutes delfes kynges 1052-5 (c. 1350) Rams

Kyngesdelf 1286 (c. 1350) Rams

This delf is a channel, thus described by Dugdale (*History of Embanking*, 2nd ed., 363): 'About two miles distant from the north-east side of Wittlesey Mere, there is a memorable channel cut through the body of the Fen, extending itself from near Ramsey to Peterborough, and is called King's delph. The common tradition is that King Canutus, or his Queen, being in some peril, in their passage from Ramsey to Peterborough, by reason of the boisterousness of the waves upon Wittlesey Mere, caused this ditch to be first made,' in support of which he quotes a passage from the pseudo-Matthew of Westminster. This tradition is confirmed by the form quoted above from the Ramsey Cartulary which similarly identifies the king with Canute. Dugdale noted the inconsistency of this tradition with

the mention of King's Delph in a Peterborough charter ascribed to King Edgar, but seeing that all these early Peterborough charters are notorious forgeries we can keep Canute and believe him to have been the promoter of this piece of early fen-engineering.

MILBY

Myleby 1279 RH (*pratum*)

This was originally only the name of some meadow-land, and it is not likely that the second element in it is the common Danish *by*. From the map it would appear that the name is applied to an area rather than to a particular spot. It is situated just where the Nen makes a well-marked bend in its course and perhaps the second element is OE *byge* (cf. Beeston *supra* 108). What the first element is one cannot say.

RAWERHOLT (lost)

silua Ragreholt a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733

Reyereholt 1279 RH

Rawereholt c. 1350 Rams

This wood lay between Whittlesey Mere and King's Delph. It is clearly from OE *hragra*, 'heron,' and *holt*, hence 'heron-wood¹.' Cf. Rawreth (Ess) which is from OE *hragra-hyð*, 'heron-hithe.'

Fletton

OLD FLETTON 64 J 12

Fletun 1086 DB

Flettuna c. 1125 (c. 1200) Lib Niger de St Petroburg

Fletton 1227 Ass (*et passim*)

Flutone 1316 FA

'Farm on the *fleet* or stream' *v.* *fleot.* *v.* Addenda.

Folksworth

FOLKSWORTH *olim* [fɔxwəθ] 74 B 10

Folchesworde 1086 DB

Fulkezwurþe c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) Thorney 169 a

Fulkesw(o)rthe 1152-8 NLC, 1220 Fees 334, 1220, 1240 Ass, 1248 For, 1276 Ass, 1316 FA

¹ Stevenson MSS.

- Fuchowurda* 1155 NLC
Fukessord 1160-5 NLC
Fulcheswurda 1167 P, 1181 P (Chanc Roll)
Folkesw(o)rth(e) 1185 (c. 1200) *Templars*, 1253 FF, 1260,
 1270 *Ass*, 1286 *For*, 1292 *Orig*, 1322 *Ipm et passim*
Fukeswrth 1201 *Cur* (p)
Fukeswrth 1227 *Ass* (p)
Fakewurth 1227 *Ass*
Fokesworth 1239 FF
Foukewrth 1253 *For*
Falkesworth 1267-85 AD iv (p)
Fukewurth 1270 *Ass*
Foukeswrth 1272 FF
Folkewurth 1276 RH
Fakesworth 1314, 1315 *Ipm*
Felkesworth 1348 Cl
Foxworth 1526 LS

‘Folc’s enclosure’ *v. worp*. *Folc* is not on independent record in OE but is a regular shortened form of OE names in *Folc*- and is found both in its strong and weak form in *folcanstan* (BCS 408) and *folces stan* (ib. 813) for Folkestone (K). The numerous *Fulk*-forms are to be accounted for by the influence of the common French name *Fulk*, itself ultimately of the same origin.

Glatton

GLATTON 74 D 11

- glædtuninga weg* 957 BCS 1003
Glatune 1086 DB
Glattun 1158 P, c. 1200 BM, 1217 Pat
Glatton 1167 P *et passim*, 1316 FA (*cum Holme*)
Gletton 1260 *Ass*

‘Cheerful’ or ‘pleasant’ farm. For the use of the adj. *glæd* in place-names, cf. a possible instance in Nares Gladley *supra* 125. The *weg* or road of the men of Glatton is probably the old cart-track just to the south of Glatton village, along which the bounds of Conington parish still run as they did in the days of the charter from which the extract is taken.

Haddon

HADDON 74 B 10

æt Haddedune 951 (c. 1300–25) *Thorney* 6 a*Adone* 1086 DB*Haddune* c. 1150 (c. 1300–25) *Thorney**Haddon* 1286 *Ass*, 1316 FA, 1327 SR, c. 1370 *Linc* (*juxta Yakesley*)

It is difficult to know how much stress should be laid on the *Hadde-* of the form in the Thorney Register. Probably it should be taken definitely into account and the first element be taken as the pers. name *Hædda*. Cf. *Headdandun* (KCD 544). Apart from this we should have taken it as OE *hæð-dun*, ‘heath covered hill,’ a very common form of p.n.

Holme

HOLME 74 C 12

Glatton cum Hulmo 1167 P*Hulm(e)* 1217 Pat, 1224 FF*Holme* 1252 Ch *et passim**Ulmo* (abl.) 1303 KF*Houlyn* 1312 Fine*Hulmus* 1319 FF*Home* 1526 LS

v. holmr. The name is descriptive of its water-surrounded site. The persistent *u*-forms, pointing to ODan *hulm* rather than *holm*, are noteworthy. For their significance, cf. IPN 60 and Ekwall PN La 244.

CHALDERBEACH FARM (6")

Scælfremære, Scelfremære a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733*Chelfremerebeche* 1146 Cott vii. 3*Chelfrebecche, Cheluremerebeche, Chelwremere, Chelwremare*
c. 1150 (c. 1350) Rams*Scelremere, Salderemere Breche, Saldermere* 1279 RH

This mere lay to the south of Whittlesey Mere, and Chalderbeach Farm must have been on its eastern shore. Its name was clearly *scealfra-mere*, i.e. ‘mere of the diver-birds.’ Later the *f*

was lost between the *l* and *r* in the consonant group and was replaced by the epenthetic *d* which so commonly develops in ME between *l* and *r*. Confusion of initial *sch* and *ch* is fairly common and would in this case be assisted by the influence of the common ME *chalu**er*, *cheluer*, gen. pl. of 'calf.' The *beach* is clearly the same element that is found in Wisbech, Land-beach and Waterbeach (C) and refers to the position of the farm on the edge of the mere. The word may be the same as OE *bæc*, *bece*, 'stream,' with transference of sense from the stream to its bank, but this is uncertain (*v.* Weekley, *Etymological Dictionary*, s.v.). *v.* Addenda.

DOCK A FALT (lost)

aqua Falet a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733

Falt, nouam Falt super Witlesmare 1224 FF

Falthal' 1227 Ass

Faltestub 1286 Ass

Dock a Falt c. 1750 Bodger's *Map of Whittlesea Mere*

This lost name of a spot on the east side of Whittlesey Mere clearly contains the name of a tributary stream of that mere, named in the Saxon list of its bounds. Professor Ekwall calls attention to *Falete* (1251 Ch), now Fauld (St), DB *Felede*, which would seem to point to an OE **fæled*, a variant of *falod*, 'fold.' The application of such a name must remain uncertain in view of our ignorance of the topography.

HIND LAKE (lost)

Hindelake, Hyndelake 1223 FF, 1279 RH

Hyndelac 1224 (c. 1350) Rams

Hind Lake c. 1750 Bodger's *Map of Whittlesea Mere*

OE *hinda-lacu*, 'hinds' stream,' i.e. where they water. *v.* *lacu*. On Bodger's map of Whittlesey Mere several such 'lakes' are marked—Henson's Lake, Barnsdale Lake, Long Lake, together with this one on the east side.

HOLME WOOD

boscus de Holme 1248 For

SWORD POINT (lost)

Sweordora c. 1000 BCS 297¹

Swerord super Witlemærebanc 1146 Cott vii. 3

Swerdeshord super Withelesmere c. 1150 (c. 1350) Rams

Swerdesorde c. 1150 (c. 1350) Rams

Swerdeshord 1279 RH

Swere Point, Swere Hord c. 1750 Bodger's *Map of Whittlesea Mere*

Sword Point 1766 J, 1787 Cary, 1822 Darton

Swere Point 1836 O

The old maps of Whittlesea Mere show on the south side of the mere a broadish peninsula pushing itself up into the lake. At its north-west corner is a point of land called *Swere Point* and behind it a corner of the peninsula is marked off as *Swere Hord*. Mr Goodall in a study of the document known as the Tribal Hidage (BCS 297), shortly to be published and very generously placed at our disposal, shows how this is to be identified with the *Sweordora* of that document, where it appears as the name of a territory, estimated to contain 300 families, and with the *Swerord* of the foundation charter of Sawtry Abbey (1146). The full significance of this discovery is explained in the Introduction (xix). With regard to the site we can only regret that the draining of the mere has removed all trace of the peninsula and the point. It was approximately where Engine Farm now stands.

The etymology of the name is not an easy one owing to the inconsistency of the early forms. The final element is, almost certainly, *ord*. That is the form found in all the early documents except the Tribal Hidage, and the text of this document is notoriously corrupt. (The *hord*-forms show the common inorganic *h* which develops before a second element beginning with a vowel.) Further, Bodger's map shows a series of names ending in *-hord* right round the mere, evidently taking their name from projections of land, e.g. *Grimeshord*, *Alderhord*. What the first element is, is not so clear. *sweord*, 'sword,' whether in the nominative or the genitive, giving a name 'sword(s)-point,' is not very likely on the topographical side, and

¹ *Sweodora* in two of the texts.

is inconsistent at the one end with the form in the Sawtry charter which, as a rule, has good forms, and at the other it is difficult to see how it could have developed to the *Swere Hord* found on Bodger's map or could have given rise to a *Swere Point*. On the other hand, if we start with *Swerord*, the compiler of the Tribal Hidage having written *Sweordora* in error for *Sweororda* (with his usual genitival *-a* suffixed to *Swerord*), the development to *Swere Hord* is normal and one can well understand a translation of *Swere Ord* having given rise to a *Swere Point*, while *Sword Point* would be a natural reduction of *Swere Ord Point*. This involves the assumption that the forms in the Ramsey Cartulary and in *Rotuli Hundredorum* are corrupt, but that seems the smaller difficulty of the two, and it may be that a process of folk-etymology was assisted by some such process as a doubling of the suffix, *Swerord* being expanded to *Swerordesord* or *Swerdesorde*. If this is accepted then the *Swerord* is to be explained as a compound of OE *sweora*, 'neck,' and *ord*, the whole name meaning 'point at the end of the neck of land.'

Swerord or rather the district to which it came to be applied may have left one other trace on old maps where *King's Delph* is alternatively known as *Sword Dike* or *Swerdes Delf*.

WHITTLESEY MERE

Witlesmere 963-84 (c. 1200) BCS 1128, 1146-53 (c. 1350) Rams, 1270 Ass

Witelesmere a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733, c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) Thorney 168 b

Witelesmare 1086 DB

Witlesmare 1145 Cott vii. 3, 1189 (1332) Ch, 1223 FF, 1248-56 BM

Witthelesmere 1146-53 (c. 1350) Rams, 1270 Ass

Witlemare 1146-53 (c. 1350) Rams

Wittesmara 1189 (1332) Ch

Wytlesmer 1260 Ass

Wittelysmere c. 1480 BM

Whittelsmere 1535 VE

Wittlesmere 1585 FF

'Witel's mere' *v.* *mere*. This pers. name is on record (Redin 139) and is a diminutive of the rare *Wita*. The same name is

also found in Whittlesey just over the Cambridge border and there is no doubt that *Witles-mere* and *Witles-ig* were named from the same man. The modern form of *Witlesig* has led to a refashioning of *Whittlesmere* as *Whittlesey Mere*. The *Wh-*forms are entirely modern and do not justify Skeat's derivation from an otherwise unknown *Whitel*.

Morborne

MORBORNE 74 B 10

Morburn(e) 1086 DB, 1276 RH, 1286 *Ass*, 1385 Cl, 1428 FF

Morborne 1255 *For*, 1535 VE

Morreborne, *Molburne* 1286 *Ass*

Morbourn 1316 FA, 1327 SR

Marborn 1610 Speed

Marborn al. *Marbon* 1675 Ogilby

Marbon or *Morbourn* c. 1750 Bowen

'Swampy-land stream' *v. mor*, *burna*.

OGERSTON (lost)

Ogerestan(e) 1185 (c. 1200) *Templars*, 1227 Ch, 1253 Pat,
13th AD iv

Oggereston 1189 ChR

Oggerston 1305 Cl, 1360 FF

Oggeston 1335 Orig

Ogerston 1597 FF

The site of Ogerston was marked as Ogerston Ruins as late as the first O.S. map. It was just south of the spot where the Billing Brook crosses the Bullock Road and was on the border of both the parish and county, so that the *stan* is probably a boundary-stone. The first part is clearly a pers. name, but one cannot accept Skeat's *Ocg-here*. There was an OE name *Ocga*, but one can only explain that as a pet-form for such a pers. name as *Ord-gār*, and it could not in its turn be used as the first element in a compound such as *Ocg-here*. On the other hand there is good evidence for a late OE and EME pers. name *Oger(i)us*, *Odgar*, *Odgerus*, *Ogger* which, as Forssner (197) shows, is an OGer name *Autger*, *Odger*, *Og(g)er* which may well have come in through French influence. Derivation from ON *Auðgeirr* or *Oddgeirr* is also possible. *Ogier* le Danois, a

medieval hero of romance, corresponds to a Danish *Otgerus*, *Udgerus*. Hence 'Ogger's stone,' the pers. name being one of comparatively late foreign origin.

Water Newton

WATER NEWTON 64 J 9

Niwantune 937 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 5 b, 973 (c. 1300-25)
ib. 2 a, c. 1000 *Cragg*

Newetone 1086 DB

Neuton c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 169 b *et passim*

Newenton 1291 Tax, 1428 FA

Waterneuton c. 1300 *Linc*

Watter Newton c. 1660 Moore

Self-explanatory. It lies by the Nen.

BILLING BROOK

Bilingbroc 1300 *Ct*

Billyngbroke 1301 *Ct*

Byllingesbroke 1306 *Ct*

Owing to the paucity of early forms it is difficult to say whether this is from OE *Billingbroc* or *Billingabroc* or *Billingesbroc* when we should render it 'Billa's stream' or 'stream of Billa's people,' or 'stream of Billing' or 'of Billa's son.'

Orton Longueville and Orton Waterville

ORTON 64 J 11

ofertuninga gemære 955 (c. 1200) BCS 909

æt Ofertune 958 (c. 1200) BCS 1043

Ovretune, Ovretone 1086 DB

Vuertun' 1158 P

Ouerton 1200 FF

Overton Henrici de Longa Villa 1220 Fees 334

Overton Lungheville 1227 Ass

Ouertone Wateruile 1248 FF

The first element appears as *Orton* from 1546 (FF).

Longueville appears as follows:

Longeuill 1286 Ass, 1303 FA, 1350-8 Ipm

Lung(e)vile 1296 Cl, 1298 FF, 1314 FF, 1316 FA, 1403 AD ii

Longevyle 1428 FA, 1490 Ipm, 1546 FF
Lungevile 1428 FA
Longvile 1480 AD i, 1492 Ipm
Longfeld 1526 LS, 1561 FF
Langffeld 1527 BM
Longfield 1532 BM
Orton Long al. *Overton Longville* 1641 HMC

Waterville shows, apart from the normal form,

Wautreville 1260 Ass
Wautervile c. 1300 BM
Waltervill 1302 Ch
Waterfeld 1548 FF

and is alternatively known as

Chery Orton 1548 FF
Chyrry Orton 1552 FF
Overton Watervile al. *Cherihorton* 1573 FF

a name preserved in *Cherry Orton Farm*.

'Farm by the ofer or bank' (cf. Orton (Nth)). *Longueville* and *Waltreville* are the names of the feudal tenants of the manors, *Cherry*, here, as in *Cherry Hinton* (C), is a distinctive epithet applied at a late date from the cultivation of cherry-trees. Confusion between *-ville* and *-feld*, pronounced with voiced *f* as *-veld*, is common in p.n. (cf. PN Bk xxv). There are too many French places called *Longueville* for us to identify the home of this feudal tenant and no source for *Waterville* has been found.

BOTOLPH BRIDGE

Botuluesbrige 1086 DB, 1224 FF, 1242 Fees 425, 1359 Ipm
Botelesbrig' 1200 FF
Botelbrig(ge) 1220 FF, 1290 Cl, 1359, 1366 Fine, 1369 Cl,
 1428 FA
Botulvesbrug 1220 Fees 334, 1366 Cl
Botolfbrigg 1225 FF, 1260 Ass
Botolvesbrug 1227 Ass
Botilbrig(ge), *Botylbryge* 1286 Ass, 1292 Ipm, 1357 Cl, 1358
 Ipm, 1428 FA, 1492 Ipm

Botulfbrig 1286 FF
Botylbrugg 1310 FF
Botlebrigge 1327 Ch
Botulfbrugge 1348 Ch
Bottelbrigge 1480 IpmR
Bottelbridge 1545 HMC Var iv
Bottle Bridge 1766 J

'Botolph's Bridge,' *Botolph* being the common Norman form for OE *Bōtwulf*. *Bottle* is the common colloquial development of it. v. Addenda.

GOLDIFORD (lost)

Goldeg 955 (c. 1200) BCS 909
Goldiford 1766 J, 1809 Carey

The ford was by a small island in the Nen called 'Gold-island,' v. eg. The exact significance of the first element in the name it is difficult to be sure about. It may very well be OE *golde* applied to the marigold.

Sawtry, All Saints and St Andrew, and St Judith

SAWTRY 74 D II

Saltrede 1086 DB
Saltreia, *Saltre(y)* 1146-53 (c. 1350) Rams, 1157 BM, 1163 P, 1167 P (*Monacorum*) et *passim* to 1363 Cl
Saltereia, *Saltereye* 1147 BM, 1152-67 AC, 1186 BM, 1220 Fees 324 (*Roberti de Bello Mesag'*), 1242 Fees 923 (*Robt de Bello Mesnagio*)
Saltreda 1183 P
Sauteria, *Sautereye* 1184 BM, 1224 Bract, 1228 Cl
Sautre(ye) 1235 Cl, 1258 FF, 1260 Ass, 1269 FF et *passim*
Magna Saltreya Monachorum, *Majorem Sautr'* 1279 RH
Saltreya le Moyne 1279 RH
Sautr' Beumeys 1279 RH
Saltretha c. 1350 Rams
Sawetre 1416 FF
Sawtre Moyns and Ivet 1568 FF
Sawtrye Beames 1572 FF

Sawter 1576 Saxton

Sawtry Jewel 1589 FF

There can be little doubt that the second element in this name is OE *rið* and that the reference is to the stream which makes its way from here down to the fens. *rethe* rather than *rithe* is the form which this word takes in the ME forms of undoubted OE names in *rið*, as in Shepreth (C), Hendred and Childrey (Berks), Shottery (Wa) and probably also Meldreth (C), the development of *rithe* to *rethe* being due to lack of stress. Loss of intervocalic *th* is very common, as witnessed in two of these very names. The first element may be the simple word *salt* and the term be descriptive of a stream of brackish taste, but it is also possible that, as suggested by the *Saltereia* forms, the first element is OE *sealtere*, 'salter,' and that the full early form of the name was *sealtera-rið*, 'salters' stream.' If that is the case we should take this as a further example of the numerous names in which *Salt* and *Salter* are found in England, referring to the carriage of salt, that all-important commodity of the Middle Ages. The stream may have been one by which salt was brought up from the fenland water-ways. It may be noted that in the Northants Assize Roll of 1202 there is a reference to tolls exacted for loads of salt passing through Winwick, which may well have come from Sawtry.

Monacorum from the holding of Ramsey Abbey or of Sawtry Abbey itself. *Beumeys* or *Beams* from the family of the Robertus de Bello Mes(n)agio who had a holding here in 1220. They had been here since the 11th cent. for we have a Walter de Belmeis here c. 1090 (Rams 229)¹. Sawtry Monachorum was also known as *Magna* or *Major* Sawtry. Sawtry *Moyne* is named not from the monks but from the Moigne family who were holding here in 1279 (RH). *All Saints* and *St Andrew* are the saints to whom the two churches are dedicated. The Countess Judith, wife of Earl Waltheof, who held land in Sawtry (DB) has been canonised by popular usage in order to keep them company.

AVERSLEY WOOD

Ailbritesle 1209 For

¹ The note in PN NbDu (14) should be cancelled in the light of this fact.

Aylbritesle 1245 *For*

Albrichelee (*wood of*) 1290 *Misc*

'Aepelbeorht's clearing' *v. leah*, with development of inter-vocalic *b* to *v* as in Pavenham *supra* 36. Cf. also Speed's spelling of Abberwick (Nb) as *Averwick* in 1610 and *Averton* for Abberton (Ess).

MONKS' WOOD

le couert de Sautre apele Monkeswod a Moynes de Sautre 1219
For

boscus monachorum de Sautr' 1230 *Cl*

Monekeswode 1279 *RH*

Self-explanatory.

Sibson cum Stibbington

SIBSON 64 J 9

Sibestune 1086 *DB*, c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney*

Sibeton, *Sebeton* 1217 *Pat*

Shipeston 1218 *FF*

Sibston 1233 *FF*, 1324 *FF* (*juxta Walmesford*)

Sibestone 1279 *RH*, 1316 *FA*, 1326 *FF*

Sibiston 1287 *Ass*, 1327 *FF*, 1329 *BM*

Sibbiston 1287 *Ass*, 1329 *BM*

Sebston 1428 *FA*

Sybton 1515 *FF*

Sybson 1544 *FF*

Sybston al. *Sybson* 1609 *BM*

'Farm of Sib(b)i,' *Sib(b)i* being a pet-form for such a pers. name as *Sigebeald* or *Sigebeorht*. *v. tun*.

STIBBINGTON

Stebintune, *Stebintone* 1086 *DB*

Stibinctuna c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney passim*

Stebentun 1217 *Pat*

Sibeton, *Styb-* 1218 *FF*, 1260 *Ass*

Stibenton 1233 *FF*

Stybinton 1260 *Ass*

Stibington, *Styb-* 1291 *NI*, 1315 *Cl*, 1316 *FA*, 1329 *BM*, 1428 *FA*

Stepington 1535 VE

Stipington 1549 BM

Stybbington 1609 BM

This is best explained as from OE *Stybbingtun*, 'Stybbā's farm,' **Stybbā* being a pers. name allied to OE *Stūf* and *Stȳfic*, and forming the basis of Stebbing (Ess) and Stepney (Mx). Cf. Stevington *supra* 46 and v. Zachrisson, *Some English PN Etymologies*, who quotes (p. 132) the form *Stybban snade* from BCS 1054.

ARNEWAS (lost)

Arnewassebrok 1278 Selden ii

Arnewas 1279 RH, 13th AD iv

Arnewessebroke 1348 AD iv

'Earnā's water-washed land' v. (ge)wæsc. *Earna* is not on record but would be a regular shortened form of one of the OE names in *Earn-*; cf. *Erne*, *Earne* in DB (TRE).

WANSFORD 64 J 8

Wylmesford 972-92 (c. 1200) BCS 1130

Walmesford 1184 (15th) Gilb, 1224 Bract, 1227 *Ass*, 1244 (c. 1350) Rams, 1279 RH, 1297 Ch, 13th AD iv, 1305 Orig, 1324, 1348 FF

Wammesford 1218 FF

Wanesford 1346 FA (iv. 448)

Walmesford al. *Waynsford* 1589 FF

As BCS 1130 is a record of land acquired for Peterborough Abbey by its second founder, Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, it may very well have been written by a West Saxon clerk and the earliest and later forms of this name can then be reconciled. *Wylmes* will be the West Saxon form, and *Walmes* will be from the Anglian form *wælm* of the same word. The latter is the one we should normally expect in this area. The meaning would be 'ford of the spring or stream.' As a stream flows into the Nen just opposite Wansford village, the latter meaning seems entirely appropriate.

WANSFORD BRIDGE (6")

pontem de Walmesford 1286 *For*

Stanground

STANGROUND 64 J 12

Stangrund c. 1000 *Cragg*, c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 168 b,
1270 *Ass*, 1285 (c. 1350) *Rams*, 1301 BM, 1302 Ch, 1307
FF, 1316 FA

Stangrun 1086 DB

Standgrund 1276 RH

Staingrunt 1286 QW

Stainground 1286 *Ass*

Stanground 1327 Cl, SR (p)

Staneground 1330 FF

Stanegrund 1428 FA

Standground 1641 HMC

This is clearly a compound of OE *stan* and *grund* and must refer to the stony character of the ground or of the bottom of some water, but its exact application cannot be determined.

HORSEY HILL

Horesheya 1219 FF

The forms are insufficient for certainty, but topographically the explanation 'horse-island' would suit well for Horsey Hill is a slight fort-crowned elevation amid the marshes.

Stilton

STILTON 74 C 11

Stic(h)iltone 1086 DB

Stichelton 1167 P

Stikelton 1181 P (p)

Stilton 1219 FF *et passim*

Stileton 1227 *Ass*, 1358 FF

Stig(h)elton 1227 *Ass* (p), 1228 Cl¹

We may take the first element to be OE *stigel*, 'stile,' hence 'farm marked by some distinctive form of stile.'

¹ The forms in the *Lincoln Registers* are *Stilton* (1290-1360), *Styelton*, *Steelton*, *Styltone* (c. 1390), *Stielton*, *Stelton* (c. 1410), *Steleton* (c. 1420 and c. 1560).

Washingley

WASHINGLEY 74 C 10

Wasingelei 1086 DB, 1286 *For*

Wassingelai, -*lea*, -*le(ga)* 1163, 1167, 1187 P, 1198 P, 1241 FF,
1245 *For*, 1292 Ipm, 1294 Cl

Wassingle(y), -*yng-* 1185 (c. 1200) *Templars*, 1260 *Ass et passim*

Wassynghelle 1260 *Ass*

Wassigleye 1261 FF

Washinge 1286 *Ass*

Wasinglee 1286 Orig

Wasshyngle 1429 IpmR

Wasshelyngle 1518 FF

The *Washing-* names in English place-names are not easy to explain. The essential material is found in Washington (Sx), *Wasingatun*, *Wassingatun*, *Wessingatun* in BCS 1125, 834, 819, all 12th cent. copies of Saxon charters, Washingford (Nf) DB *Wasingaford*, later *Wasingford*, *Wassingford*, Washingborough (L), DB *Washingeburg* and Washington (Du), with forms in *Wess-* and *Wass-* and, after 1300, in *Wessh-* and *Wassh-*, and one in *Quess-* in 1280. Washingborough also occasionally has forms with initial *Qu-*. In addition to these we must also note Washbourne (Gl) which is *Wassanburna* in 11th cent. copies of Saxon charters (BCS 236, 430) and *Waseborne* in DB, and also a lost *Wasin-cham* in the Norfolk Domesday, and a lost *Watsingaham* (Sr), BCS 693.

In interpreting these forms it should be noted in the first place that the history of Washbourne makes it practically certain that there was an OE pers. name *Wassa* (cf. OGer *Wassingun*, *Wassenstein*, Förstemann PN) and that this might at a later date appear as *Wash-*, for it is impossible to believe that an OE name with initial *Wæsc-* would appear in this form in the charters in question. The same is true with equal certainty of the old forms of Washington (Sx). We cannot be so sure in the case of the other place-names for which we have only ME forms, for *ss* in ME may represent the *sh-* sound. It should be noted, however, that, with the exception of Washingborough, forms with distinctive *sh* are late in appearance, and one may suspect that all

except this originally had a pure *s* or *ss*. If that is the case we should interpret Washingley as 'leah of Wassa's people' and presume that *Wassingley*, like so many of these names, was changed to *Washingley* under the influence of the common word *wash*. On the other hand, it is just conceivable that here and in one or two other of the *Wash*- names, we have, as the first element, *Wæscingas*, 'dwellers on the *wæsc* or small stream,' and that the whole name means 'clearing of the dwellers on the *wæsc*.' In some cases there are clearly such streams and we need not look for anything like the *Wash* itself¹.

CALDECOTE WOOD

boscus de Caldecote 1248 *For*

v. ceald, cot.

WARD MOUND (6")

Wardhowe 1241 *FF*

If this identification is correct the meaning would seem to be 'watch-hill' (*v. weard, hoh*). It is on high ground, though not quite on the highest ground in the locality. There is an interesting earthwork site, the date and origin of which are uncertain².

Yaxley

YAXLEY 74 A II

æt Geakeslea 955-9 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 6 *b*

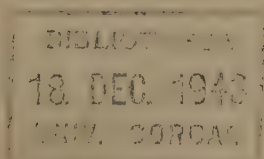
Geaceslea 963-84 (c. 1200) BCS 1128, c. 1000 *Cragg*

Iaceslea c. 970 (c. 1200) BCS 1131

Geakeslea, oþergeakeslea 973 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 1 *b*, 3 *b*

¹ Since the above explanation was written Professor Zachrisson has very kindly sent us an advance-proof of his forthcoming *English PN and River-names containing the primitive Germanic roots Vis, Vask*. It reached us as copy was being passed for press and it was impossible to give his most valuable paper the consideration that it calls for. Suffice it to say here that it is all in favour of taking the names here set forth as containing OE *wæsc* or (possibly) *wāse*, 'mud,' rather than as containing a personal name. In support of his view, in at least one case, we may note that the Surrey *Watsingaham*, as noted by him, certainly comes, not from an original charter but from a 12th cent. text and the *ts* is an AN spelling. Further, Mr C. S. Seyler in a minute study of this charter, kindly placed at our disposal, has shown that this lost manor may have stood on a small stream, whose course he has traced, which left its name in 'The *Wash* Way,' near the site of the present Clapham Junction Station.

² *ex inf.* Mr C. C. Tebbutt.



Iacheslei 1086 DB

Jakeslea Wm i (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 79, c. 1150 ib. 168 *b*

Iakesle(e) 1203 FF, 1227 BM, 1232 Cl, 1260 *Ass*, 1342 Ch,
1347 Ipm

Jackele 1227 *Ass*

Jakesle(ya) 1227 *Ass*, 1275, 1322, 1379 Cl

Jakle 1227 Ch

Iakele(ye) 1253 FF, 1255 *For*, 1276 BM, 1286 *Ass*, 1302 Ch,
1327 *SR*

Iaskele 1297 FF

Yakesle 1302 FF, 1327 Cl, 1345 FF, 1364 Cl

Yaxlee 1389 AD vi

Yakesley al. *Yaxley* 1591 FF

OE *gēaces-lēage* (dat.), 'cuckoo's clearing,' so called because infested by such. *v.* *leah*.

DRAYMERE (lost)¹

Dreigmære a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733

Draymere 1279 RH, 1286 *Ass*

Dray Meer 1766 J

Dray Mere 1836 O

This lost mere gives us another compound of the puzzling word *dræg* discussed in EPN. Possibly the reference here is to the use of a *dræge*, i.e. a *dray* or drag-net for fishing in the mere, or the reference may be to some cut through the Fens.

TRUNDLE MERE

Trendelmere 955-9 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 7 *a*

Trendmære a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733

Trendelmare 1279 RH

Trandley mire 1516 Saxton

This compound describes the shape of the mere, the first element being OE *trendel*, 'ring, circle.'

WALLPOOL (lost)

Wellepol a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733

Wallpool Pit 1766 J, 1787 Cary

¹ On Jefferys' map it is marked just to the south of Trundle Mere.

'Pool with or by the stream or spring' *v. wielle*, *pol.* The variant vowel forms are due to the same cause as that noted under Wansford *supra* 198.

YAXLEY FEN

Mariscus de Jakele 1286 *Ass*

YAXLEY LODGE

Jackeslada 1227 *Ch*

v. (ge)lad. The common term for water-ways in the Fen district.

II. HURSTINGSTONE HUNDRED

Hyrstingestan, Hertingestan 1086 *DB*

Herstingestan 1086 *DB*, c. 1120-30, c. 1136-40 *BM*

Hurstingestan 1168 *P*

Horstingestan 1169 *P*

Hurstincton 1189 *BM*

Hirstingestan 1207 *P*, 1270 *Ass*

Hirstlingestan 1209 *For*, 1227 *Ass*

Hurstingestan 1227 *Ass*

Hyrstingston, Hirstyngston 1255 *For*, 1327 *SR*, 1428 *FA*

Hurstyngston, Hurstingston 1303 *FA*, 1585 *D*

Hirstlyngstone 1364, 1370 *Cl*

The history of this Hundred-name has been made out by Mr Goodall in the paper already referred to *s.n.* Sword Point *supra* 190. He makes a convincing case for thinking that under the immediately preceding tribal name, the *Herefinna* with 1200 families, are concealed the *Hyrstingas*, who gave their name to this Hundred. This is justified, not only by their position, but also by the evidence of the MSS themselves, for as Mr Goodall points out, the Latin version of this document (BCS 297 A) has *Herfuina* with an alteration in a late copy to *Herstina*, while version 297 B has *Heresinna*. These *Hyrstingas* must have been so called because they lived in the wooded district which included Old and Wood Hurst, Upwood, Wood Walton and Warboys, places which, by their very names, remind us that this district was once well wooded. The meeting-

place of these *Hyrstingas* or woodland dwellers was at the stone which is still marked as the *Hursting Stone* by Gordon and Bowen in their 18th cent. maps of Hunts. It now appears as the Abbot's Chair, a mile and a half to the south of Old Hurst. The Hurstingstone Hundred was held by Ramsey Abbey and it is clear that from the 12th cent. the Abbot held his court at the old meeting-place. The Chair is a large square stone, in shape of a chair, with traces of an inscription, now illegible.... Local tradition says that Mother Shipton used to sit in this chair and utter her prophecies in the 16th cent. The stone must have come from a distance, as there is no stone in this part of Hunts¹. v. Addenda.

Bluntisham cum Earith

BLUNTISHAM [blant̪səm], [blant̪ʃəm] 75 G 4

Bluntesham Edw Conf (12th) KCD 907, 1086 DB, 1103-31
BM *et passim*

Bluntsome 1545 BM

Blunesham 1549 Pat

Bluntsam E 6 BM

Blunsham Eliz ChancP

'Blunt's homestead' v. ham. It is clear that there must have been a pers. name *Blunt* in OE for it is found in Blunsdon (W), DB *Bluntesdone*, *Blunteshale* in Essex (cf. Colchester Cartulary ii. 526), Bluntington (Wo), *Bluntesig* (KCD 666) and in *Bluntesdiche* in Needingworth (Ramsey Cartulary 294). In this last case, however, the reference is probably to the same person as in Bluntisham itself. The name is doubtless the same as the ordinary word *blunt*, but its origin is as obscure as that of that word.

EARITH

Herheth 1244 (c. 1350) Rams

Earheth 1260 Ass

Erehithe 1260 Ass (p)

Erheth 1279 RH, 1286 Ass

Ereheth 1286 Ass, 1318 Ch

¹ *ex inf.* Mr R. C. Gardner.

Herhyth 1350 AD i

Erethe 1548 BM

Eryth(e) 1557 FF, 1616 BM

We must have here and in Erith (K), as suggested by Skeat (PN C 34), a compound of OE *ēar* and *hyð*, for the OE form of the Kentish name is *Earhyð* (BCS 87). If so the meaning is perhaps 'muddy landing place.' *ēar* is only found as the name of one of the runic letters in OE, and in the *Runic Poem* it probably denotes 'earth.' The ON cognate *aurr* is used of wet clay or loam, and as these places are 'hithes' we are probably right in taking the sense of the OE word also to be 'mud' here. The situation of the place, immediately upon the bank of the Ouse, suits this derivation.

EARITH BRIDGE

pontem de Herithe 1219 *For*

GULL FIELD (6")

Ye Gulls 1712 *Terr*¹

As the earlier form shows, this has nothing to do with the bird but contains the word *gull*, apparently a variant of *gool* (OFr *goule*), still used dialectally of a channel made by a stream and found in Goole (Y). It is related to the words *gully* and *gullet*. The field is intersected by water-courses.

HERMITAGE (local)

Hermitage is an important spot in Earith where there was an old passage over the Ouse. There is evidence of a hermitage here in the 14th cent. Locally it is called *Armitage*¹.

WEST FEN (6")

Westfen 1253 *For*

WHITE BRIDGE

album pontem 1294 *Ct* (BM)

These three names are self-explanatory.

¹ *ex inf.* the Rev. Edward Peake and Mr H. E. Norris.

Broughton

BROUGHTON¹ 75 F I*Broctune* 1086 DB, n.d. (1300-25) *Thorney* 3 b*Brocton* 1202-7, 1245 BM*Broucton* 1254-67 BM, 13th AD ii*Brochton* 1260 Ass*Broughton* 1303 FA *et passim**Broghton* 1305 FF*Browtun* 1546 BM'Brook farm' v. *broc*, *tun*.

WOOD (Fm and Lane) (6")

cf. *Wodedole* 1300 Ct

Self-explanatory.

Bury

BURY 75 D I

(æt) *Byryg* c. 1000 Cragg*Biria*, *Birig*, *Byrig*, *Biri*, *Biry*, *Byri* 1100-35 (c. 1350) Rams,
1253, 1297 BM, 1300 Ct, 1311 AD v, 1327 SR, 1334 BM,
1336 AD i*Bury* 1359 FF*Bery* 1404 AD i*Bury* al. *Berry* 1564 FF*Bery Parua* 1569 FF

The *burh* referred to in this name is probably the earthwork described as the 'Roman Camp' just to the south-west of the village.

CHEVERIL LANE (6")

cf. *Cheverheth* 1306 AD i

¹ Through the kindness of Dr R. H. Murray, Rector of Broughton, the following survivals of early field-names have been noted:

Ramsey Cartulary (1252) *Waterwolde*, *Holdedole*, *Stanilande*, *Buttes ad Rowdych*, *Grenehyll* as Oldwaters, Hold-dole, Stonelands, Buttes-close, Grennills.

Court Rolls (1293) *Brokenhyl*, *Saltwell*, *Haycroft* as Brokenback, Saltwells, Haycraves.

Ancient Deeds (13th cent.) *Hullok*, *Ryphthornes* as Hullucks, Ripthornes.

HEPMANGROVE (lost)¹

Height-, Heyt-, Heyghtmond(e)groue 1297 Ct, 1377 FF, 1378 Cl, 1437 AD i

Heyt(h)mundegrave 13th AD i, 1303 AD vi, 1309 AD i, 1311 AD v

Eydmundgrave c. 1300 BM

Heymundegrave 1327 SR

Heyghnundegrave 1338 AD i

Heighmondegrove 1359 FF

Hetmingrove 1387 IpmR

Hetmigrove 1392 BM

Hetmun(d)grove 1404 AD i

Hecmegrove 1428 AD i

Heghtmongrove 1484 FF

Hekmangrave 1498 BM

Heyghmongrove 1516, 1540 BM

Highmongrove 1517 FF

Hethemongrove 1542 BM

Hepmangrove 1552 FF

Highmondgrove 1558 BM

Hemyngrove 1569 FF, 1570 BM

'Hēahmund or Hæðmund grove,' with a curious absence of any sign of the genitival form of the pers. name (*v. graf(a)*). In some ways an OE *Hēahmund*, which is actually on record (while *Hæðmund* as a compound has not survived and in itself is less probable), would fit the early forms better, especially so far as they show diphthongal *ey*, *ei*. If we start from that we should have to explain the *t* and *d* forms as AN spellings due to the difficulty which AN speakers and writers found in dealing with OE *h*. The variation between *t*, *k*, and *p* is curious but has its parallel, though not in the same order of development in the history of Pavenham *supra* 36. The same pers. name is found in Heathencote (Nth) for which we have forms *Heymondcot* (1284 FA), *Heymundecotes* (1308 Ch), *Heitmundecotes* (1337 Ipm), *Hegmondcot* (1428 FA). The phonological development of this name is equally difficult.

¹ On Bowen's map (c. 1750) the site is just west of Bury.

NORTHEY (Fm) (6")

Northeya c. 1350 Rams

As it is in Bury Fen the meaning is clearly 'north island,' *v.* eg. It lies on the northern boundary of the parish.

Colne

COLNE 75 G 4

Colne Edw Conf (12th) KCD 907, 1086 DB *et passim**Colen, Collen* 1279 RH*Cone* c. 1660 Moore, *Map of the Great Levell*

This would seem to be an old stream-name, identical with that of the river Colne (Ess, Mx).

Hartford

HARTFORD 74 H 14

Hereforde 1086 DB, 1199 Cur, 1223 FF, 1260 *Ass*, 1276 RH,
1285 Cl, 1286 *For*, 1308 *Fine*, 1327 Cl, 1495 BM, 1535 VE

Herford 1147 BM, 1194 Cur, 13th AD i, 1444 IpmR, c. 1350*Linc (juxta Huntingdon)**Harford* 1410 BM, 1535 VE, 1558 FF, Eliz ChancP*Hertford* 1428 FA, 1526 LS, 1529 FF, 1542, 1558 BM

'Army ford' *v.* here, ford. The *t* is intrusive and late.

SAPLEY

Sappele 1227 ClR, 1232, 1235, 1236, 1238, 1245 Cl, 1255 *For*,
1260 *Ass*, 1299 BM, 1300 Rams, 1367, 1381 Cl

Sapele 1232, 1235, 1240, 1243 Cl, 1255 *For**Shappele* 1238 Cl*Sap(p)le* 1245, 1378 Cl*Sappeleye* 1275, 1285 Cl*Sappele Hey* 1292 Cl*Sapperleye* 1338 Orig

OE *sæppe-leage* (dat.), 'fir-tree clearing,' *v.* *sæppe*, *leah*. If this is correct it is good evidence, in this old forest district, for the presence of firs in English woodland at a good deal earlier date than is usually allowed.

Holywell cum Needingworth

HOLYWELL [hɔliwɛl] 75 H 3

Haliewelle 1086 DB*Haliwell, Haly-* 1231, 1234 FF, 1238 Cl *et passim* to 1526 LS*Halliwell, Hally-* 1350 AD i, 1571 FF, 1601 BM*Haylywell* 1569 FF*Hollywell* 1600 FF, c. 1750 Bowen*Hallowell* Eliz ChancP, 1601 Cai

'Holy spring' (v. *halig, wielle*) with the common shortening of the vowel in later *Halli-* and *Holli-*. The modern spelling is due to the influence of the uncompounded adj. *holy*. The Holy Well itself still survives and is known as such¹.

MOYNES HALL

Moynes Hall Eliz ChancP

It seems very probable that this is the messuage with garden and 1 carucate of land and 10 acres of meadow which the Abbot of Ramsey held in Needingworth of the gift of Sir Berenger *le Moyne* in 1279, RH ii. 602 (*VCH*).

NEEDINGWORTH [ni'dinəθ]

Neddingewurda 1161, 1163 P*Nithingwurth* 1227 *Ass* (p)*Nedingewrht* 1234 FF*Nidingw(u)rth* 1241 FF, 1260 *Ass*, 1268 FF*Niddingworth* 1260 *Ass*, 1287 *Ct*, 1317 AD i, 1327 *SR*, 1342 FF, c. 1350 Rams*Niddingeworth* 13th AD iv*Nyd-, Nidingworth* 1322 AD i, 1337, 1417 FF

¹ Through the kindness of the Rector of Holywell (the Rev. J. A. Ross), we have received a list of field and other names surviving in 16th and 17th cent. deeds, churchwardens' accounts, etc. The most interesting of these are *Lownde Field* and *Lownde Hole* from a deed of 1619, and still surviving in *Lowndes*. This is clearly the *Hunderlunde* of the Ramsey Cartulary (i. 294) and another example of ON *lund* (cf. Toseland and Holland). In confirmation of this Mr Ross draws our attention to the fact that in a 17th cent. document we have reference to 'the grove of woods called ye Lownd.' As *Lowndes* lies at the foot of a slight hill Mr Ross suggests that the mysterious *Hunder* is for *Under-*. In addition we may note *Lowdells* or *Lowdelves*, a field-name in Needingworth, showing the same variation in forms that we get in *Shelve* or *Shell* (Wo).

Nedyngworth, -ing- 1452 FF, 1456 AD i, 1535 VE

Needenworth 1662 Fuller, 1675 Ogilby

Ekwall has provided the solution of this name when (PN in -ing 14) he associates it with Nedging (Sf). The latter is found as *Hnyddinge* (BCS 1289), and he takes this to be from a lost OE name *Hnydda*, probably by origin a nickname, allied to English *nod*, *noddle* and *nuddle* (dial.), 'to push.' Needingworth is then 'enclosure of Hnydda's people' (v. *word*). Short *y* appears quite regularly as short *e* or *i* in ME (v. *Intro.* xxv). The lengthening of the vowel, first clearly shown in the 17th cent., may be purely artificial and due to association with the ordinary word *need*. If it is a regular development then we must take it that the double consonant *dd* early came to be regarded as a single *d* and that *i* was lengthened, lowered to *e*, and made tense in the open syllable, but this seems somewhat unlikely. It is interesting to note that the only other known example of this pers. name in place-names is a lost *Nidingham* (C), so that all the examples of it come from the eastern part of the region settled by Angles.

STOCK'S BRIDGE (6")

Stokes (cultura) 1254-67 AD i

If this identification is right then the proper form of the name is 'Stocks Bridge' and it means 'bridge by the stumps.' v. *stocc*.

Houghton

HOUGHTON 75 H 1

Hoctune 1086 DB

Hocton(e) 1207 P, 1227 Ass

Hou(c)hton 1240 FF, 1303 FA

Hohtun 1253 BM

Houton 1279 RH (*cum Wytton*), 1295 FF, 13 AD i (*by St Ives*)

Houghton 1309 BM

'Farm at the foot of the hoh,' the *hoh* being the hill spur otherwise known as Houghton Hill.

HOUGHTON HILL

atte Hyl 1252 (c. 1350) Rams (p)

Self-explanatory.

Old Hurst

OLD HURST 75 F 2

Waldhirst 1227 Ass*Waldhurst* 1227 Ass, 1228 FF*Hirst* 1228 FF, 1285 BM*Wald(e)hirst* 1252 BM, 1272 FF*Woldhirst*, *-hirst* 1258 FF, 1272 (c. 1350) Rams, 1272 FF,
1294 AD i, 1318 FF*Weldhurst*, *Weldhirst* 1270 Ass, 1355 BM*Woldhurst* 1350 FF, 1546 BM

The name *hirst* must once have been applied to the whole district round here, from its well-wooded character (see further Hurstingstone *supra* 203).

In course of time when some of the woodland was cleared the more open country round Old Hurst was distinguished as *Wold* Hurst (v. *weald*), while the still thickly wooded country round *Wood* Hurst came to be distinctively so called. Curiously enough, at the present time there are small woods at Old Hurst but none at Woodhurst. The loss of initial *w* is fairly common dialectally (cf. Odell *supra* 34 and Old (Nth)).

Pidley cum Fenton

FENTON 75 F 2

Fentun 1236 FF*Fenton* 1279 RH'Fen-farm' v. *fenn*, *tun*.

FENTON LODE

Fentonelode 1286 For*lada de Fentone* 1294 (c. 1350) Rams

One of the fen-land lodes or water-ways.

PIDLEY

Pydele, *Pid-* 1228 Ch, 1260 Ass, 1279 RH, 1286 Ass, 1387
IpmR, Cl*Podel* 1286 Ass*Pudele* 1319 Fine, 1327 Cl, Pat*Puddele* 1319 Ipm

Pedele(y) 1319 FF, 1526 LS

Pydley 1535 VE

'Pyd(d)a's clearing' *v.* leah. Cf. Piddington (Nth) and Pedley in Clophill *supra* 146.

PIDLEY HILL (6")

Pydelehille 1252 (c. 1350) Rams

Self-explanatory.

ROWEY (6")

Rueyemere 1279 RH

Rowey(e) 1286 FF, 1337 Cl, 1387 FF, 1410 AD ii

Rounhey c. 1350 Rams

Rohey 1512 FF

Rowhey al. *Rowey* 1584 FF

Probably OE *rūgan ēge* (dat.), 'rough island,' judging by its situation in the Fens (*v.* ruh, eg). The *h* is the common inorganic *h* found before a second element beginning with a vowel.

STROUD HILL (6")

Strode 1228 Ch

v. strod. 'Marshy ground overgrown with brushwood' would aptly fit the site.

Ramsey

RAMSEY 75 D 1

Ramesige 1034 C (11th cent.) ASC

Rammesege 1050 D (c. 1050) ASC

Ramesege c. 1060 (12th cent.) KCD 853, 1045 D (c. 1050) ASC

Hramesege 111th BM

Ramesia R i BM

Rames(eie) 1200 FF

Rammes(eye) 1227 Ass

After this forms with one and two *m*'s respectively are about equally common.

This is, almost certainly, 'Raven's island,' the first element being an OE pers. name *Hræfn* which must have existed quite independently of the late OE *Rafen* from the ON *Hrafn*.

The existence of this name in OE is made certain by such place-names as Raveningham (Nf), as well as by the numerous place-names in pre-Conquest charters which contain some form or other of this word in place-names outside the Scandinavian area (cf. Ravensden *supra* 61). It is impossible to believe that the reference is to the bird in the majority of these place-names. Such are Ramsbury (W), *Rammesburi* (BCS 828), Ranscombe (Ha), *Hremmescomb* (ib. 938), Romsley (Sa), *Hremesleage* (KCD 1298), Ravenshill (Wo), *Ræfneshyl* (BCS 356), and numerous other unidentified examples. The *h* was early lost and *fn* assimilated to *mm*. For the conditions under which such a name might arise see under Ravensden¹.

ASHBEACH (Fm)

Assebeche 1286 *For*, *Ass* (p), c. 1350 Rams

Osbich 1601 BM

'Ash-beach,' descriptive probably of a farm with ash-trees on the edge or 'beach' of a mere, in the days before the draining of the Fens. Cf. Chalderbeach *supra* 188.

BEAUPRE DROVE (6")

Beaurepeir 1286 *For*

Beaurepier c. 1350 Rams

Beauraper al. *Bewpre* c. 1500 BM

A common p.n. of French origin, from OFr *beau-repaire*, denoting 'beautiful retreat.' It is specially common in connexion with monastic property and is found in Beurepair (Ha, K), Belper (Db), Bear Park (Du) and Berepper (Co). The pronunciation with initial [bjʊ] is a common development of OFr *beau*, as in Beaulieu (Ha), Bewdley (Wo). An alternative development is that found in Beadlow *supra* 147.

BIGGIN

Bigging, *Byggyng* 1262 AD i, 1547 FF

le Bygginge 1286 *Ass*

Biggin 1552 FF

v. *bigging*.

¹ One need only record as a curiosity the derivation, found in a life of St Oswald (*Historians of the Church of York*, i. 432), of Ramsey from the Latin *ramis*, 'branches,' for 'the island is as it were hedged round by great trees.'

BODSEY HOUSE

Bodes(h)eye 1216-41 (c. 1350) Rams, 1220 FF

Botsey 1610 Speed

There is adequate evidence for an OE name *Boda*, contained in Bodenham (He) and Bodicote (O) (*v.* Redin 45, 121). There is no OE evidence for a strong name *Bode*, and it is probable that the first element of the present is a short form of a compound pers. name ending in *-bod*, such as *Winebod*. 'Bod's island' *v.* eg.

BRICK MERE (6")

Birchemere 1146 Cott vii. 3, c. 1150 (c. 1350) Rams, 1279 RH

Birkemare 1248-57 BM

Berch(e)mere 1217-72 (c. 1350) Rams, 1279 RH

Brichmerpoles c. 1350 Rams

Brikmere 1572 BM, 1610 Speed

OE *beorc-* or *beorca-mere*, 'mere of the birch-trees,' with late metathesis of the *r*. *v.* *beorc*. The presence at one time of birches in the neighbourhood is confirmed by the reference in Dugdale, *History of Embanking* (2nd ed.) 357, to *Byrchholt* by *Byrchmere* (cf. *Bricheholt* in Higney in Ramsey Cartulary).

BROADALL'S DISTRICT etc.

Broadwall Fen 1766 J

Broadalls 1854 Hatfield's *Directory*

The modern form is corrupt. The old name may have meant 'broad spring or stream,' *v.* *wielle*, and cf. Wallpool *supra* 202.

DAINTREE FARM

Dauintre 1260 *Ass* (p)

Daventre c. 1350 Rams (p), 1405 BM

Dauntree 1636 Hayward, *Survey of the Fens*

Dantrey 1695 Morden's *Map*

This must be a late name derived from some man coming from Daventry (Nth), DB *Daventreu*, of which the popular form is *Daintry*. There is a similar Daintree Farm in Cambridgeshire.

GREEN FARM (6")

le Grene 1363 AD i

Self-explanatory.

THE HERNE

la Hern 1219 *For*

Herne 1251 *Ch* (p)

þe Hirne 1275 (c. 1350) *Rams* (p)

le Hyrne c. 1350 *Rams*

'Corner' *v.* *hyrne*. This is the name given to the area which forms the extreme north-west corner of Ramsey parish.

HIGNEY (Fm)

Hyggeneya, *Higg-* 1146 *Cott* vii. 3, c. 1154 (c. 1350) *Rams*,
1235 *FF*, 1279 *RH*, 1314 *BM*

Higkeneia 1154 (c. 1350) *Rams*

Hykeneye, *Hik-* 1260 *Ass* (p), 1299 *BM*

Hygeneye *E* 1 *BM*, 1279 *RH*, 1321 *AD* i, 1327 *SR*

'Hycga's island' (*v.* *eg*), *Hycga* being a regularly formed pet-form for an OE name in *Hyge-*. Cf. *Hughenden* in *PN Bk* 182.

HOOK'S LODGE (6")

Hokeslade, *Hokeslode* 1279 *RH*

'Hoc's water-way' *v.* (*ge*)*lad*.

MIDDLE MOOR

Middelmor 1286 *For*

Self-explanatory.

MONKS' LODGE

ladam Monachorum 1279 *RH*

Munkeslade c. 1350 *Rams*

'Monks' water-way,' so called from the monks of Sawtry rather than from those of Ramsey.

NEW FEN (Fm)

le newefeldfen 1303 *AD* v

Self-explanatory.

RAMSEY MERE

Ramesmere 13th (c. 1350) *Rams*, 1335 *Pat*

'Mere of *Hræfn*,' the same man who gave his name to Ramsey itself. Cf. the history of Whittlesey Mere in relation to Whittlesey *supra* 192.

STOCKING FEN (6")

Stokkyngfen 1387 AD ii'Fen by the clearing' *v.* stocking.

UGG MERE

Ubbemærelade a. 1022 (c. 1200) KCD 733*Ubbemere* 1146 *Cott* vii. 3, c. 1150 (c. 1350) Rams*Hubbemare* 1192 (c. 1350) Rams*Ubbemare* 1248-57 BM*Hubbemerebeche* 1252 (c. 1350) Rams*Ubmere* 1342 (c. 1350) Rams, 1345 *ib.**Ubmere, Ugmere* 1572 BM

'Ubba's mere' *v.* mere, some of the forms referring to a 'lode' which connected Ugg Mere with Whittlesey Mere and others to its 'beach' or shore. The modern *g* seems purely irrational, but cf. Pavenham *supra* 36. The OE pers. name *Ubba* is well recorded, and occurs in the p.n. Upton Lovel (W). The corresponding ON *Ubbi* may however be represented here. The pers. name *Ubbe* which was still used in East Anglia in the 12th cent. may represent either the OE or the ON name.

UGMERE COURT ROAD (6")

Ubmerecote c. 1230 (c. 1350) Rams*Hubbemerecote* 1279 RH, c. 1350 Rams

'Ugmere cottages,' with the common rendering of *cote* as *court*, *v.* *cot*.

GREAT WHYTE (6")

la Wihte 13th AD ii*le Whyte* 1323 AD i*la Whygthe* 1337 AD i*le Wyghte* 1349 AD v, 1350 AD i*le Wight, le Lytilwight* 1419 AD iii*le magna Wygth* 1443 AD i*le Whight magna* 1455 AD ii

It is clear that the OE name for this place was *wiht*, and one may perhaps quote *Wi(h)thull* (KCD 709), now Whitehill in Tackley (O), but no suggestion can be at present made as to the interpretation. *v.* Addenda.

WORLICK

- Wiluucrihc* al. *Wyltherik* 1242 BM
Wolrewok (p) c. 1280 (c. 1350) Rams
Wyrlewyk 1287 Ct
Wurlewyk 1382 BM
Worlyche 1536 FF (p)

The early forms of this name are too late, corrupt and divergent for interpretation. *v. wic. v. Addenda.*

Great and Little Raveley

RAVELEY 74 E 14

- Ræflea* c. 1060 (c. 1350) Rams, 1077 (17th) Chron Rams
Rauelai 1163 P
Raualea et altera R. 1167 P
Ravele(ye) 1227 *Ass (et passim)*
Rauesle 1228 FF
Magna Rauale, Graunt Rauale 1297, 1364 BM
Raveley Magna and R. Moynes 1543 FF

This is a very difficult name. Skeat suggests that there was an OE pers. name *Ræfa*, a shortened form of various names which he quotes. The first of these is *Ræfcytel*, but that is only Searle's faulty reconstruction of DB *Rauechetel* which is clearly ON *Hrafnketell*. Of the others *Ræfwine* is possibly OE, *Ræfmær* and *Ræfnōth* are Searle's reconstructions from DB *Rauemerus* and *Rauenod* of uncertain origin, while *Ræfweald* and *Ræfwulf* are reconstructions of English cognates for the OGer *Rafold* and *Rafolf* which are actually on record. There is then some evidence for OE names in *Ræf*- though it is not very strong, and the history of this element both here and in its German cognate is obscure. Derivation from a pers. name is made improbable by the form *Ræflea*, which is confirmed as being correct by its appearance in William I's charter of 1077 (Chron Rams 200) of which Spelman saw the original text. Raveley *Moynes* is Great Raveley, and takes its name from the Moyne family who owned it.

POPLAR SPINNEY (6")

- Popely* 1228 FF
Popelenge 1228 (c. 1350) Rams

The identification is uncertain though probable. We may compare the equally difficult Popes Wood (Berks) which in an original charter of 949 appears as *wopig hangra* (BCS 877)¹ and in a 12th cent. copy of a charter of 956 as *popping hangra* (BCS 963). This suggests a pers. name **Poppa*, belonging to the obscure group of names of which **Pappa* and **Pippa* are examples.

RAVELEY WOOD (6")

boscus de Rael' 1218 FF, 1248 For

REDLAND HILL (Spinney) (6")

Redeland 1252 (c. 1350) Rams

Either *hrēod-land*, 'reed land,' or *rēade-land*, 'red land.' Topographical enquiry has not settled the question.

TEN ACRE SPINNEY (6")

Tenacres 1252 (c. 1350) Rams

Self-explanatory.

Abbot's and King's Ripton

RIPTON 74 F 13, 75 G 1

Riptune 1086 DB

Ripetona c. 1139 BM

Ripton 1163 P (*Abbatis, Regis*), 1227 Ass, 1231 FF (*Magna*)
et passim

Rupton 1209 For

Riptune 1253 BM

Kyngesripton 1381 Cl

Ripton Abbottes al. *Saynt John's Ripton* 1579 FF

Rippon 1675 Ogilby

Skeat suggests that this name contains the gen. sg. of an OE pers. name *Rippa* inferred from *Rippanleah* (KCD 1031), now Ripley (Db) and entering into Ripley (Db, Y). The fact, however, that in all the forms of Ripton that have been noted,

¹ This is the correct reading of the MS as very kindly collated by Miss F. E. Harmer. It seems almost certainly to be an example of the not infrequent confusion of *w* and *p* in OE MSS.

with one solitary exception, there is no trace of any vowel between the *p* and the *t* seems definitely to rule out this explanation. More probably we should connect it with Ripe (Sx) for which Roberts (PN Sx) gives forms *Ripe*, *Ripp*, *Ryppe*, *Rype*. Much more important is the fact that it is almost certainly to be identified with the 'silbam qui appellatur Ripp' of an original 8th cent. charter (BCS 160) in which the wood is clearly not far from the Sussex border. The Riptons are in what was clearly once well-wooded land and there can be little doubt that this *tun* takes its name from another 'wood called *Ripp*.' Jellinghaus (*Anglia*, xx. 311) followed by Moorman (*PN West Riding* 157) would associate it with *Hripum*, the early name for Ripon (Y), but seeing how early the form *Ripp* is, this does not seem very likely. (The form *Rhipp* quoted by them from BCS 161 is from a 12th cent. copy.)

The ultimate affinities of this name are obscure. It is clearly the same as the *Rip mons* which Förstemann (PN 598) associates with places called *Ripanhorst*, *Rippenhorst* (note the association with woodland) and with LGer *riep*, 'shore, slope,' East Frisian *ripe*, 'edge,' and a hill-name 'Auf dem *Riepen*.' These again are related to ON *ripr*, 'crag.' There can be little doubt that some word from this same stock was found in OE, for we have in the dialect of Kent and Sussex the word *ripe*, meaning 'shore, bank.' On the topographical side we may note that Ripe (Sx) is on a small but well-marked ridge rising above marshy ground and that the wood from which the Riptons seem to have taken their name must have been on relatively high ground which, a couple of miles to the north, falls to the fen-level. Another trace of the woodland which lies behind these two names is the field-name *Ripthornes*, quoted under Broughton *supra* 206 n. 1. That parish borders on Ripton. The length of the vowel in these words is not certain, and on the whole it would seem best to assume words from different grades with long and short vowels respectively.

King's Ripton was a royal manor included in the Domesday description of Hartford, Abbot's Ripton was held by the Abbot of Ramsey and later passed into the possession of the St John family. Abbot's Ripton was *Magna Ripton* (VCH). Corresponding to the two manors we have in 1209 (*For*) an *Abodesho* and a *Kyngesho*.

BOULTONS HUNCH WOOD (6")

manor of Boultone 1270 AD vi

HOLLAND (Wood)

Haulund 1252 (c. 1350) Rams (p), 1301 Ct*Havelund* 1279 RH*Havelound* 1286 For*Haulond, Hollond* 1286 For, 1300 Ct

The suffix here is ON *lundr*. It is defined as meaning 'grove, small wood' in EPN. Since that was written Mr Bruce Dickins has called our attention to the important rendering of *Lund* by Reginald of Durham as *nemus paci donatum*¹, which shows that this word in Scandinavianised England must have been used with the same heathen religious associations that it had in Scandinavia itself. The first element may be ON *hagi*, the whole name being perhaps descriptive of a sacred grove which has been 'hedged' off.

ROOKS GROVE (6")

Roke(s)graue 1253 AD i, 1300, 1301 Ct*Rokysgraue* 1275 Ct*Rokesgroue* 1307 Ct

'Hroc's grove,' from the pers. name *Hrōc* rather than from the bird-name. This pers. name is not on record in OE but can be inferred with certainty from such place-names as Ruckinge (K) and Rockingham (Nth), and the corresponding ON *Hrókr* is well established (cf. MLR, xiv. 241). Cf. Roxton, Ruxox *supra* 64, 74.

SHOOTER'S GREEN (6")

Sheteres dole 1297 Ct

'Shooter's share of the common field' (v. dal), *Shooter* being here presumably used as a pers. name. ME *shetere* here, as in Standard Eng, has been replaced by *shooter*, under the influence of the verb *shoot*.

¹ The passage in Reginald of Durham, c. 129 (Surtees Soc. ed. 275), is worth quoting in full: 'est ecclesia in loco qui Plumbelund dicitur...a nemoris circumcintu ita vocata, quia silvarum densissima plenitudine undique circumsepta. Qui situs loci ab Anglico proprietatis eloquio nomen propriæ appellationis sortitus fuisse dinoscitur; eo quod secundum ydionia Anglicum, "lund," nemus paci donatum, cognominetur.'

WENNINGTON

Weninton c. 1000 (14th) Chron Rams 63, 1167 P

Wenitona c. 1000 (14th) Chron Rams

Wympton, Wempton 1286 Ass

Wenyton 1293 BM

Wenyngton 1322 FF

Wennyngton al. *Wenyngton* 1555 FF

Winnington 1766 J

Wēn- is a regular first and second element in OE pers. names (*v.* Searle) and *Wenna* seems to be an OE pet-form of these names, found in *Wennan stan* (BCS 476). Hence 'Wenna's farm' *v.* *ingtun*.

St Ives

ST IVES 75 H 2

S. Yvo de Slepe 1110 (c. 1350) Rams (p), 1130 BM

villa S. Yuonis 1200 FF

St Ive 1485 IpmR

The town takes its name from St Ivo whose relics were said to have been discovered here at the end of the 10th cent. For *Slepe v. infra* 222.

BROADWAY (6")

Langebrodeweie 1217 FF

Bradeweie 1301 Ct

Brodweydych 1317 Ct

A street in St Ives. The name is self-explanatory. *v.* Addenda.

DARWOOD PLACE (6")

Derhirst c. 1350 Rams

These names may possibly refer to the same place with the same development of OE *deor* as in Darvell (Sx).

GREEN END

Grena Sci Iuonis 1281 Ct

Self-explanatory.

THE HOW (6")

le Howe 1251 (c. 1350) Rams, 1287 Ct

v. hoh. The name is descriptive of the site, upon a low hill-spur.

ST AUDREY'S LANE (6")

Tawdr(e)y Lane 1766 J, 1830 Darton

It is much to be regretted that the popular reduction of the name of the famous East Anglian saint *Æthelthryth* to *Tawdry* has disappeared in the modern genteel rendering of the name. For this reduction in the common word *tawdry*, *v.* NED *s.v.*

(NEW) SLEPE (HALL) (6")

Slæpi 672 (c. 1200) BCS 28*Slepe* 1086 DB *et passim*

v. slæp, the reference being evidently to muddy low-lying ground by the river. Slepe was the older name of the whole manor of St Ives. *v.* Addenda.

Somersham

SOMERSHAM [sʌməsəm] 75 F 3/4

Summeresham c. 1000 Hist El*Sūmersham* 1086 DB*Sūmresham* 1086 (c. 1180) Inq El*Sumresham* 1086 (c. 1180) Inq El

Sumeresham 1086 (12th) KCD 907, 1086 (c. 1180) Inq El,
1163, 1167 P, 1163-9 BM, 1185 P, 1228, 1229 Ch, 1230,
1236 FF

Someresham 13th AD vi*Somersham* 1303 FA *et passim**Somersam* 1549 Pat

ON *Sumarr*, OGer *Sumar* are well established as pers. names and it is probable that there was an OE *Sumor* also. This name may therefore be 'Sumor's homestead,' *v.* ham. The only difficulty is the *Summeresham*, *Sūmersham*, *Sūmresham* forms with their suggestion of a lost *m*.

If stress is to be laid on these one might take the name as from *Suðmeres-ham*, 'homestead of the south mere,' which is quite a possible name in this district. Indeed, in the bounds of the *banlieu* of Ramsey as set forth in KCD 1364 there is a *Suðmere* which may be at the very spot required. Summerfield (Nf) is from earlier *Suðmere* (cf. DB *Sutmere*), and a lost Summerfield (now Canon's Farm) in Banstead (Sr) is *Suðmeresfeld* in BCS

39, 697, 1195, and seems to mean 'open land of the south mere,' but it should be noted that the assimilation of *ðm* to *mm* is of much later date in these two cases. More probable is OE **Sunmæ̅r*, with later assimilation to *Summer*, hence 'Sunmæ̅r's homestead.'

CROLLODE (Fm) (6")

aqua de Grauelode 1286 Ass

aqua de Grouelode 1286 Ass

Crowelodemare 1294 (c. 1350) Rams

'Crow-water-way,' probably from their frequenting it. *v. crawe*, *gelad*. The forms with initial *g* show the common confusion in ME between initial *c* and *g* (cf. IPN 114). It is still called Crow Lode in Dugdale, *History of Embanking* (2nd ed.), 355.

PARKHALL (6")

Parkale 1252 (c. 1350) Rams

Parchalemuth 1279 RH

Here, as throughout the fen-country, one is faced with the uncertainty of the original features of the countryside. On the face of it it looks as if *Parchale* were a river-name and *Parchalemuth* the name given to some spot where it debouched into a larger stream, but we know nothing as to whether this was the case in actual fact. Apart from this we might take the name to be from OE *pearroc* and *healh*, and the whole name to mean 'nook of land marked by an enclosure.' Professor Ekwall calls attention to a *La Parrok* used of an arm of the sea in the Colne estuary in Essex and *Parrokflete* (Pat 1362), and for the interpretation of these passages notes the use of *park* in the sense 'enclosure for fish' (NED).

TURKINGTON HILL

cf. *Laurence Turkyngton in Somersham* 1551 FF

It is clear that *Turkington* here is not a place-name but a pers. name which has become attached to a property which was in possession of a man of that name. Where he came from originally we do not know, possibly it was from Torkington (Ch).

Great and Little Stukeley

STUKELEY 74 G 12/13

Stivecle 1086 DB*Stiuekele(a)*, *Styu-* 1185 P, 1318, 1320 Ch*Parua Stiueclai* 1193 FF*Stifcle* 1199 Cur (p)*Magna Steuecle* c. 1200 BM*Stiuecl' Aristotil'* 1207 P*Stivecle Comitis David* 1220 Fees 333*Stiuekle*, *Styu-*, *Stiuecle* 1229, 1260 FF, 1306 FF (*juxta Huntynghdone*) *et passim**Stivecleya Abbatis* 1252 (c. 1350) Rams*Steuecle* 1326 Ipm*Stucle(y)*, *Stukle* 1362 Ch, 1386 Cl, 1433 BM*Steyuecle* 1421 IpmR*Stuecle Minor* and *Major* 1428 FA*Stewkeley* 1529 FF

'Stump-clearing' *v.* *styfic*, *leah*. Cf. *Stewkley* (Bk) and *Styuicleage* (Mx) in O.S. Facs. iii, no. 36, 11th c. *Stukeley Comitis David* from David, Earl of Huntingdon, *Abbatis* from the holding of the Abbot of Ramsey, who had a holding in Little Stukeley. That of the earl was in Great Stukeley. Magister *Aristoteles* had a holding in Stukeley in the 13th cent. (Ramsey Cartulary i. 395) and was a clerk in the service of Henry iii.

BALDEWYNHO (lost)

Baldewinho, *-wyn-* 1279 RH, 1308 Ch, 1334 Cl*Baldwyneho* 1286 Ass

'Baldwin-hoh,' from the personal name *Bealdwine*. The absence of inflexional *-es* is noteworthy.

GREEN END

ad Grenam 1251 (c. 1350) Rams (p)

Self-explanatory.

PRESTLEY WOOD (6")

Prestesleye 1284 Cl*Prestelei boscus* 1286 For*Prestelee*, *Presteley* 1368 FF, 1483 AD v

OE *prēosta-lēage* (dat.), 'priests' clearing,' but why so called it is impossible now to say. This is the natural development in contrast to Priestley *supra* 74, which shows the influence of the independent word.

Upwood

UPWOOD 74 E 14

Upehude 1086 DB

Upwude 1253 BM

Upwode 1303 AD vi

'Up-wood,' in contrast to the lower woodland on the edge of the fens to the west of the village.

Wood Walton

WOOD WALTON¹ 74 E 12/13

Waltune 1086 DB, 1236 FF

Waltona 1155 BM, 1163 P (*Willelmi*)

Wauton 1225 FF, 1244 Cl

Walton juxta Sautre 1284 FF, c. 1400 Linc (*juxta Ramsey*)

Wodewalton 1300 BM

Waleton 1315 Ipm

Wallton al. *Woodwallton* 1567 FF

This is one of the Waltons in which there is a case for taking the name as from OE *weall-tūn*, 'wall-enclosure,' or 'enclosure by the wall,' rather than as OE *wēala-tūn*, 'farm of the Britons' or 'farm of the serfs,' for in the latter case one would have expected some forms with syllabic *e* (*Waleton*). One might also suggest a possible *weald-tūn* in this area (*v. weald*). There is mention of a *Waldebrigg* in this parish in 1218 (*FF*).

BARROW (lost)

Barewe 1219 (c. 1350) Rams

Barwe 1225 (c. 1350) Rams

gravam q. voc. Barwe 1279 RH

Form, and the general topography of the area indicate that here we have OE *bearwe* (dat.) from *bearu*, 'grove.'

¹ There is a reference to the 'wood' from which it takes its distinctive name in 1219 in Rams 168.

BEVILL'S WOOD

assartum Roberti de Beville 1219 (c. 1350) Rams

The wood and the clearing take their name from the family of *Be(y)ville* who held land here. The family probably took their name from Bévill-le-Comte, dépt. Eure-et-Loir.

GAMSEY WOOD (6")

silva q. voc. Garbodeseye 1279 RH

Germeshey Wood 1566 BM

This is clearly a (ge)hæg or enclosure in a woodland district, but who its owner was is not clear. Our choice lies between taking the 13th cent. form as correct with a quite irregular development of *Garbod* to *Garmod*, or to believe that the 13th cent. form is a bad one for *Garmod*. Probably the latter is the correct solution of the name. The pers. name *Gārmōd* is not actually on record but is a perfectly regular formation. *Gārbod* is unknown, but we have *Gerbodo* in Domesday. This is a name of continental origin (cf. Forssner 106-7), and the *Gar-* might be explained as a partial anglicising of the name.

SUERSHAY (lost)

Siwardesheye 1307 (c. 1350) Rams

Suershaye 1563 FF

'Sigeweard's enclosure' *v.* (ge)hæg.

Warboys

WARBOYS 75 E 2

Wærdebusc 1077 (17th) Chron Rams

Wardebusc 1086 DB, c. 1115 AD, A 14399, 1163 P, 1253 BM

Wardebusche 1123-30 (c. 1350) Rams, 1167 P

Wardeboys, -bois 1148-50 BM, 1227 Ass, 1228 FF, 1260 Ass, 1272 FF, 1321 AD i, 1348 Ch, 1350 BM, 1378 Cl

Wardboys, -bois 1189 ChR, 1428 FA

Werdebusc 1253 BM

Wardbys, Warbys 1543 BM

Wardeboisse 1556 FF

Wardboyes 1670 HMC App viii

This is a remarkable compound in which the first element is English and the second is apparently an early loan-word from

the Latin *boscus*, later replaced by its French derivative *bois*. Another example of this loan-word is found in Hunts in *Wiðibusce (mære)* (KCD 733), i.e. withy-bush. The persistent *e* between *d* and *b* is in favour of taking the first element to be the OE pers. name *Wearda* rather than the element *weard*. For this pers. name *v.* Wardington (PN Bk 15). Hence, 'Wearda's wood.' *v.* Addenda.

CALDECOTE (lost)

Caldecote 1251 (c. 1350) Rams

Wardeboys cum Caldecote 1279 RH

Caudecote 1293 BM

v. ceald, cot.

GOLDPIT RUNNEL (6")

Goldpitteslade 1286 For

Goldepitslade c. 1350 Rams¹

There was evidently a small valley (*v.* slæd) here marked by a pit (*v.* pytt). Why 'gold' pit we do not know. It may be from a discovery of treasure or it may be a plant-name (cf. *Goldpyte* and *Goldenacre* as field-names in Southill (Beds) in the 13th cent.). Present-day topography affords no help.

HUMBREL'S FARM (6")

Humberdale 1251 (c. 1350) Rams, 1255 For, 1286 For, 1301

Ct, 1346 (c. 1350) Rams

Humerdalegate 1286 Ass

Goldpit Runnel comes down from Humbrel's Farm and it is difficult not to think that the *slæd* and the *dale* (*v.* dæl) were parts of one and the same valley, down which a small river Humber ran, now known as Goldpit Runnel. *Humbre* is a common river-name in OE. In addition to the well-known Humber in Yorkshire we have a *Humber* (perhaps Lawern Brook, Wo) in BCS 480, a *Humbracumb* (BCS 1183) in Berkshire and two different examples of *Humbra* in Oxfordshire (KCD 714, 1296), as well as modern Humber Brooks, one a feeder of the Lugg (He) and the other in Admington (Gl), a feeder of the

¹ In the bounds of the *banlieu* of Ramsey (KCD 1364) this is called *Colpetslade* but the document is a late transcript and the form almost certainly corrupt.

Stour¹. Cf. Doverdale (Wo) for a compound name of this type, and also a *torrens de Humberdale* in Milton Ernest (Bd), 1279 RH. It is clear that the name should really be *Humbrel* rather than Humbrel's Farm.

WARBOYS WOOD

ad Boscum 1254 (c. 1350) Rams (p)

Self-explanatory.

WOOLVEY (Fm)

W(o)lfheye 1251 (c. 1350) Rams

Wolney (sic) 1291 Tax

Wolfeye E 3 BM

Wulveymere 1348 Cl

Wolve c. 1350 Rams

This may be either OE *wulf-gehæg*, 'wolf-enclosure,' in which case we may compare OE *wulf-haga* (BCS 1047) or *wulf-ēg*, 'wolf-island,' with the wider sense of OE *eg*. In favour of the idea of 'well-watered land' is the reference to a 'mere' in 1348.

Wistow

WISTOW 75 E 1

Kingestune id est Wicstoue 974 (c. 1350) Rams

Wistov 1086 DB, 1114-33 BM

Wyrstowe (sic) 1227 Ass

Kingeston 1253 BM

Wyn(e)stowe 1270 Ass

W(h)ytstowe 1286 Ass

Wistowe 1321 FF

This is OE *wīc-stow* (v. *stow*), which is variously used to denote 'house, dwelling-place or camp.' As the name here seems to be alternatively 'royal manor,' one may perhaps be permitted to take the name to mean 'site of the royal manor-house.' Wistow (Y) has the same history.

HILL (Fm)

Monticulum { *de Wistowe* n.d. KCD 1364
 desuper Wystowe 1346 (c. 1350) Rams

Self-explanatory.

¹ Stevenson MSS.

KINGSLAND (Fm) (6")

Kyngeslond 1252 (c. 1350) Rams

Fittingly found in a manor once known as 'king's manor.'

WISTOW WOOD (6")

Westowode 1286 *For*

Woodhurst

WOODHURST 75 G 2

Wdeherst 1209 FF*Wdehirst* 1234 FF*Wodehyrst* 1252 BMAfter this, forms in *hirst* (*hyrst*) and *hurst* are equally common.The name is self-explanatory but somewhat redundant in character, *v.* Old Hurst *supra* 211.

OCKLEY (lost)

Ocleywode 1245, 1286 *For**Occle* 1251 (c. 1350) Rams*Acle(y)* 1254-67 AD i, c. 1350 Rams*Oklee* 1260 *Ass**Ocle, Okleyhil* 1306 *Ct**collem Acle* c. 1350 Rams'Oak clearing' *v.* ac, leah, appropriate enough in this parish.

WIGAN (Fm)

Wyken 13th AD i*Wyken* al. *Wekyn* 1405-1538 BM*Wekyn* 1535 VE*Wiggin* c. 1750 BowenOE *wicum* (dat. pl.), 'dwelling-place, abode,' *v.* wic. Cf. Wykin (Lei), Wicken (Nth). Cf. Eggington *supra* 122 for *k > g*.

Woodstone

WOODSTONE 64 J 12

Wydestun, Wudestun 973 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 1 b, 1 a*Wodestun* 1086 DB*Wedeston* 1201 Cur*Wudeston* 1260 *Ass*

Wodeston 1268 BM

Woodston 1549 FF

Woodsome 1675 Ogilby

OE names *Wuduman* and *Ōswudu* are on record and there is evidence for other compounds such as *Wudum.ēr* and *Wudumere* (cf. Widdrington PN NbDu). From these there may have been formed a pet-form *Wud*, which might give a p.n. *Wudestan*. For the *Wyd-*, *Wed-* forms we may note the forms *wudu*, *widu* for the independent word in OE, such forms as *Widia*, *Wudga* in OE for another derivative pers. name from the same stem, and the *Wid-* forms (side by side with those in *Wud-*) discussed under Widdrington *loc. cit.*

The other and much less likely alternative is to take it as 'farm of the wood.' The normal genitive of OE *wudu* is *wudis*, but, as pointed out by Skeat, *wudes* is found in late OE.

Wyton

WYTON [witən] 75 H 1

Witune 1086 DB

Witton, *Wytt-* 1199 Cur, 1218 FF, 1260 Ass, 1287 Ct, 1303 Ass, 1307 Orig, 1535 VE

Wictun 1253 BM

Whitton 1526 LS, 1641 HMC

Witton 1766 J

This must have the same history as Witton in Droitwich (Wo), *Wictun* in BCS 361, and Market Weighton (Y), *ε. wic. tun*. The meaning of the compound is obscure.

HUNGRY HALL COTTAGES (6")

cf. *Hungerton Wyton* 1270 Ass

Was there a 'hunger-farm' in Wyton, so called from the poverty of the land, and if so may it not possibly have survived as Hungry Hall found in this name and in Hungry Hall, just over the border in Broughton parish?

RUDDLES LANE (6")

Rededale 1217 FF

If this identification is correct then the name probably means 'reed-valley,' from OE *hreed*, *dæl*, and the *s* is a mistake.

III. LEIGHTONSTONE HUNDRED

Lectone, Lektone, Dellectone 1086 DB

Lectonestane 1086 DB, 1175 P

Lehtunestan 1163 P

Legtunestan 1168 P

Leochstoneston 1180 P

Wapent' de Lektunestan 1227 Ass

Lettunestan 1255 For

Lectuneston 1285 FA

Leytuneston 1295 BM, 1303 FA

Leythtonestone 1316 FA

Leyghtunestan 1327 SR

Leghtonstone 1364, 1370 Cl

The stone at which the hundred-meeting was held is marked on Bowen's map just to the south of Leighton Bromswold, on the right side of the road, where the 1 in. Ordnance Map marks 'The Castle.' This site is central for the Hundred¹. For a hundred-name of similar type, cf. *Bingameshou* Wapentake (Nt) which takes its name from a hoh or hill near the village of Bingham.

Alconbury

ALCONBURY [ɔːkənbrɪ] 74 G 12

Acumesberie 1086 DB

Alchmundesbiri, Alcmundesberia 1168, 1169 P, 1197-8 P

Alkmundebir, Alcmundebir, Alkmundebury 1230, 1233, 1237

Cl et passim to 1428 FA

Alkemund(e)bury 1238 Cl, 1252 Ch, 1287 Orig, 1299 BM,

1302 Ch, 1309 FF, 1326 Cl, 1357 Ipm

Aucmundebury 1259 Pat

Alcumbiri, Alcumbury, Alcumbury 1285 FA, 1383 Cl, 1428

FA, 1513 FF

Aumondebiry 1286 Ass

Alkmond(e)bury, Alcmondebury 1294 FF, E 1 BM, 1316 FA,

1356 FF

Alkmondbury 1357 Ipm

¹ This stone still exists in the village (*ex inf.* Mr C. C. Tebbutt).

Alcunbiri, Alkunbury 1303 FA, 1375 BM
Alcumdebyry 1311 FF
Alcumdeberry al. *Alcumbery* 1314 Ipm
Alkymundbery 1326 Ipm
Alkundbury 1475 BM
Aucumbury 1535 VE
Awkyngbery 1553 FF
Alcanbury 1565 FF
Awconbury, Awkenbury 1580, 1618-24 BM
Alcomberie Eliz ChancP
Aulconburye 1612 BM
Aukenbury, Aukingbury 1675 Ogilby

In the suffix we find *ber-* forms as follows: 1 in the 11th cent., 2 in the 12th, 1 in the 13th, 5 in the 14th, 2 in the 16th. The figures for *bir-* and *byr-* forms are 2 in the 12th, 8 in the 13th, 2 in the 14th, while for the *bur-* forms there are 6 in the 13th, 11 in the 14th, 4 in the 15th, 1 in the 16th and after that they prevail altogether.

'Ealhmund's burh' or 'stronghold.' Alconbury stands at the foot of a low range of hills, and the *burh* recorded in the name was probably a fortified house rather than an ancient camp. In the adjacent county of Northampton the pers. name *Ealhmund* survived into the 12th cent., and it is also found in the place-names Alcaston (Sa), Almington (St) and Alkmonton (Db).

THE GREEN (6")

atte Grene 1327 SR (p)

Self-explanatory.

WEYBRIDGE (Fm)

Wardeberg 1107-13 (c. 1350) Rams

Wauberge, Wauberge nemus c. 1110 (c. 1350) Warden, 1198 P, 1209 For, 1216-30 BM, 1227 Cl, 1286 Ass, 1299 BM, 1301 Rams, 1343, 1378 Cl

Walberg(ia) a. 1138 RW, 1199 ChR, c. 1350 Rams

Waubergh 1227, 1247 Cl

Waberg, Waberch 1247 Cl, 1286 Ass

Wagheberg 1260 Ass

Wahberg 1282 Cl

Wauberga 1285 Cl, 1286 Ass, 1394 Cl

Waweberg(e) 1287, 1395 Cl

Wabrig(e) 1461, 1542 BM

Wayebrig 1470 IpmR

Waybridge 1565 BM

Wabridge 1579 FF, 1580 BM

Weybridge 1603 D

This name is the last relic of the Huntingdonshire Forest which gave importance in the early Middle Ages to the royal manor of Brampton. There can be little doubt that the name is a compound of OE *weald* (Anglian *wald*) and *beorg*, and that the whole name denotes either 'wold-hill' or 'forest-hill.' Weybridge Farm stands at the extremity of a well-marked ridge above a plain traversed by a number of streams which converge to join the Ouse near Huntingdon. This ridge is doubtless the *beorg* to which the name refers. The *l* was vocalised to *u* before the following (*d*)*b* and the *Waghe-*, *Wah-* forms are inverted spellings due to the normal development of *Waghe-* and *Wah-* to *Wau-*. The later developments are quite irregular.

Barham

BARHAM 74 G 10

Bercheham 1086 (c. 1180) Inq El

Bercham 1209 For, 1286 Ass

Bergham 1260, 1286 Ass

Berwham 1260 Ass

Berewam, *Bereuham* 1279 RH

Beruham 1286 Ass

Barr(h)am 1526 LS, 1585, 1594 FF

'Hill-homestead,' aptly descriptive of the place. *v.* *beorg*, *ham*.

Brampton

BRAMPTON 74 H/J 12/13

Brantune 1086 DB

Branton Hy 1 (1300-25) *Thorney* 8 b, Hy 2 (1227) Ch, c.

1155 D and C *Linc A* 1/1 no. 23, 1168 P, 12th HH, 1237

Cl, c. 1250 MP, 1291 BM

Bramtona Hy 1 (1300-25) *Thorney* 8 b, c. 1150 *D and C Linc*

A 1/1 no. 8, 1168 P, 1242 Cl

Brampton 1227 *Ass (et passim)*

Braunton 1241 Cl

Brampton juxta Huntyngdon 1343 FF

'Brier' or 'bramble farm' v. brame, tun.

BRAMPTON WOOD

boscus de Brampton 1219 *For*

boscus de Brompton 1286 *For*

BROMHOLME BRIDGE (6")

Bramholm 1253 AD ii

Bromholm 1327 Ch

The bridge is on a small tributary of the Ouse by land marked 'liable to flood,' so that it is clear that here we have ON *holmr* in the sense 'low-lying ground by a river or stream' which it develops in English dialect. The first element shows the common confusion of brame and brom.

HARTHAY [ha'ti]

Hertehey 1219 *For*

Hertheie 1227 ClR

Herteye 1227-9 Ch

Herthey 1279 RH, 1298 Ipm, 1307 (c. 1350) Rams

Harthey 1299 BM

Harty 1836 O

'Stag enclosure' v. heorot, (ge)hæg. It may safely be assumed that the place originally formed part of Weybridge Forest. Harthay is less than two miles from Weybridge Farm.

PORT HOLME

Portholme 1417 FF

As this borders on the town of Huntingdon it can safely be interpreted as 'low-lying ground' (v. *holmr*) by or belonging to the port or town, cf. Portmeadow in Oxford. Cf. *Huntendunport* in the forged Peterborough Charter, contained in the ASC (E) s.a. 656.

WOODHOUGHTON (lost)

Wodehouton 1219 *For**Brampton cum Wodehoghton* 1286 *Ass*

In each case the place is associated with Brampton, and as Houghton is the other side of Huntingdon the reference can hardly be to that place. Probably this 'Wood Houghton' (*v. hoh, tun*) was so called to distinguish it from the other Houghton down by the Ouse.

Brington

BRINGTON 74 G 8/9

Breninctune 1086 DB*Brincthon* 1252 BM*Bryninton, Brininton* 1253 BM, 1259 AD i, 1260 FF, 1285

FA, 1344 BM

Brinington, Brynington 1271 AD i, 1286 *Ass**Brinington* 1279 RH*Brimpton, Brympton* 1291 Tax, 1428 FA*Brunnington* n.d. AD A 3562*Brington* 13th AD i, 1267 Cl, 1443 BM*Bringtun* c. 1350 Rams*Brynkton* 1360 Cl*Bryncton* al. *Brynton* 1594 FF*Brington* or *Brynton* c. 1750 Bowen

This is clearly OE *Bryningtun*, 'Bryni's farm,' *v. ingtun*. The ancient pers. name *Bryni* occurs also in the place-names Brimpton (Berks), Brington (Nth), identical with the present name, Briningham (Nf), and Brighthurst (Lei), and probably in Bur-niston and Brinsford (Y).

Buckworth

BUCKWORTH 74 F/G 10/11

Buchesworde 1086 DB*Buckeswirtha* c. 1150 (13th) Hugonis Candidi Historia*Buckeswrda* 1180 BM*Buckesworth* 1220 Fees 334, 1294 FF (p)*Bukesw(u)rth* 1223 Bract, 1247 Pat, 1248 FF, 1282 Ipm, 1285

FA

Buckew(o)rth 1225 FF, E i BM

Bokewurth 1227 Ass

Bokesw(o)rth 1242 Fees 922, 1267-85 AD i

Bucwurth 1243 Cl

Bockysworth 1276 RH

Buckeswrþe 1279 RH

Bockeworth 1294 FF

Bokworth 1303 FA, 1428 FA

Buckworthe 1316 FA, Eliz ChancP

Bukworth, Bucworth 1327 SR, 1341 Cl, 1351 Ipm, 1353 Cl, Ipm, 1369 Cl, 1370 FF, 1428 FA

'Bucc's enclosure' *v. worp*. For this pers. name, *v. MLR* xiv. 236.

Bythorn

BYTHORN 74 G 8

Bierne 1086 DB, c. 1350 Rams

Bi-, Bytherne 1127 (c. 1350) Rams, 1248 FF, 1253 BM, 1259 AD i, 1260 Ass, 1357 Ipm (*by Elyngton*), 1437 FF, 1451 BM

Byern(e) 1252 BM, 1286 Ass

Bithorne, Bythorn 1285 FA, 1545 FF

'By the thorn-bush' *v. bi, pyrne*.

CLACK BARN (6")

terra quondam Clack c. 1350 Rams

This land is named from a man bearing the common Scand. pers. name *Klakk*, which was early adopted into Anglo-Scandinavian personal nomenclature, and appears in the 12th cent. in the forms *Clac*, *Clach*.

Catworth

CATWORTH [kætəθ] 74 H 9

Cattewyrð (dat.) 972-92 (c. 1200) BCS 1130

Parua Cateuuorde, alia Cateuuorde 1086 DB

Cadeuurde, Cadeworde 1086 (c. 1180) Inq El

Catteswurda 1163 P

Cattewurda 1167 P

Catew(o)rth 1199 Cur, 1248 FF, 1287 Ass

Magna Cattewrth c. 1200 BM

Cattewurth 1224 FF, 1227 *Ass*, 1231, 1272 FF

Catteworth 1277 Cl, 1285 FA, 1287 *Ass*, 1290 Cl, 1302, 1428 FA

Katesworth 1286 QW

Catw(o)rth 1288 Cl, 1325 Fine

'Catt's enclosure.' The existence of a pers. name *Catt* in OE is made certain by such names as Catshall (Sf), Catsfield (Sx), Catshill (St, Wo), and further evidence will be found in MLR xiv. 237. The *s* here and in Buckworth *supra* 235 would readily be lost owing to the existence of weak forms *Catta*, *Bucca*. Cf. also Catwick (Y).

Coppingford

COPPINGFORD 74 E/F 11

Copemaneforde 1086 DB

Coupmanneford 1146 *Cott* vii. 3

Copmanesford 1207 Abbr

Copmaneford 1225 Pat, 1248, 1253 FF, 1285 FA

Copmanneford 1227 *Ass*, 1273 FF

Copmanford E 1 BM, 1303 FA, 1308 FF, 1327 *SR*, 1351 Ipm, 1353 Cl, 1362 FF, 1372 BM, 1383 Cl, 1428 FA, 1444 IpmR, 1501 Ipm

Coupmanford 1286 *Ass*

Copmansford 1290 Misc

Copemanford 1316 FA

Copmandesford 1382, 1389 FF

Coppemanford 1428 FA

Coppyngford 1535 VE, 1564 FF

Copmanford al. *Coppingford* 1584 FF

This is a curious hybrid name. The first part is clearly Late OE *Coupmanna* from ON *kaupmanna*, 'of the traders,' and the whole name means 'traders' ford.' Cf. a similar *chypmanna ford* in Wiltshire (BCS 879) from OE *cīepmann*, the corresponding native word. The ford must be that to the west of the village, rather less than a mile away. This ford does not seem likely ever to have been a very important one. A cart-track leads down to it and it is continued on the other side as a footpath which leads

on by roads and cart-tracks through the Giddings to the valley of the Nen at Warmington. It is tempting to think that these 'merchants' used not the line of track just indicated but the ancient and well-known Bullock Road which branches off from Ermine Street, just to the south-west of Coppingford, skirts the village itself, and makes its way in a fashion closely similar to that of the road just described, to the Elton-Chesterton road, whence either the Nen could be crossed at Elton or the Ermine Street rejoined at Alwalton. The two roads run almost parallel throughout their course and it is just possible that both alike represent ancient tracks of importance and that we should be wrong in identifying the merchants with the Bullock Road alone. The fact that Henry of Huntingdon, the historian, held, as archdeacon, a local chapter at Coppingford (Croyland Cartulary) shows that the place was easy of access in the first half of the 12th cent.

COPPINGFORD WOOD

boscus de Copman(e)ford 1248, 1286 *For*

Covington

COVINGTON 74 H 8

Covintune 1086 DB

Couyngton 1260 *Ass*, 1331 FF, 1493 *Ipm*

Couinton 1272 FF, 1279 RH, 1285 FA, 1303 *SR*, FA

Couenton 1478 FF

'Cofa's farm' *v. ingtun*. Cf. Covenham (W) and Coveney (C). We have the strong form of this pers. name in Cosgrave (Nth), DB *Covesgraue*.

Easton

EASTON [i'sən] 74 H 10

Estone 1086 DB *et passim*

Eston al. *Esson* 1578 FF

'East farm,' presumably in contrast to Old Weston on the other side of the hundred-centre at Leighton. Note the contrast of *Esson* here and *Wesson* in the forms for Old Weston *infra* 250.

CALPHER WOOD

boscus de Calfho 1271 FF

Calfo 1279 RH

'Calf-hill' *v.* *cealf*, *hoh*. The wood is on the side of a hill but a concave one rather than a convex one such as is usually called a *hoh*. There is a *hoh* in the usual sense just to the north-west of the wood and one cannot of course be sure from exactly which spot the wood took its name.

Ellington

ELLINGTON 74 H II

Elintune 1086 DB, 1106-13 BM

Elint(h)on, *Elynton* 1207 P, 1227 Ass, 1228, 1241 FF, 1253

BM, 1285 FA

Elindon 1228 FF

Elyngton, *-ing-* 1267-85 AD i, 1286 Ass, 1327 SR, 1346 Cl *et passim*

'Eli's farm' *v.* *ingtun*. For this name, *v.* Redin 134. The complete absence of forms with double *l* forbids our assuming that we have the more usual pers. name *Ella*¹.

CALDECOTE (lost)

Caldecote 1279 RH, 1330 Pat (*under Brouneswold*)

v. *ceald*, *cot*. Distinguished as 'under Bromswold.'

COTON BARN (6")

Cotene 1286 Ass, QW

Coten 1292 BM

'(At the) cottages,' from the dat. pl. of *cot*.

ELLINGTON THORPE

Sybethorp, *Sib-* 1227 CLR, 1279 RH, 1298 Ipm, 1322 AD i

Sibbetorp 1227 Ass, 1255 For

Sybetorp 1236, 1241 FF

Sibbethorp 1258 FF

Elyngton cum Sibethorp 1286 Ass

¹ The forms which Skeat gives for this name with medial *dl* and *tl* belong to Elton and not to this place.

Sibthorpe 1316 FA, 1357 Ipm

Sibythorpe 1323 AD i

Sipthorp 1571 FF

Thorp or *Sibthorp* c. 1750 Bowen

‘Farm of Sibba (OE) or Sibbi (ON).’ It is difficult to say here whether this name contains the English or Danish *þorp*. The complete absence of any *thorp* forms is somewhat in favour of the latter alternative, and this is confirmed by the existence of another *Sibbethorp* in the northern Danelaw (now Sibthorpe (Nt)). The later dropping of the name of the owner and the assimilation of the name to a type common in the Danelaw, in which *Thorpe* is added to the name of a parent village, is to be noted. Cf. Mattersey and the adjacent Mattersey Thorpe (Nt).

Great and Little Gidding

GIDDING 74 E 10

Redinges 1086 DB

Gedeling 1086 DB

Geddinge 1086 DB, 1147 BM, 1166 P, 1193, 1208 FF, 1227

Ass, 1237 FF, 1252 FF (*Magna*), 1276 RH, 1316 FA, 1340 Ipm, 1385, 1399 IpmR

Geddinges 1168 P (p), 1207 P

Gedinges 1185 (c. 1200) *Templars*

Guedding 1198 Fees 9

Gydding 1253 FF, E 1 BM (*Parva*), 1297 Ipm, 1304 SR

Geddingg Prioris 1276 RH, (*Engayne*) ib.

Gidding, -yng 1285 FA, 1304 Ch, 1316 FA, 1323 Ipm, SR, 1328 Ch, 1341 FF *et passim*

Great Gedyng 1549 Pat

‘Gydel’s people’ *v. ingas*. Of the three DB forms, *Redinges* is clearly a scribal error resulting from the confusion of the late OE letters *g* and *r*. The *Gedeling* form cannot be dismissed so briefly. It occurs in the record of disputed claims to land which forms an appendix to the Hunts DB and it so happens that, occurring at the end of a line, it is divided *Gede-linge*. It is difficult to see how this can be an example of scribal confusion between *dd* and *dl*, quite apart from the fact that this confusion, very common in later records, is not likely to occur in 11th cent.

handwriting. It is therefore probable that Gidding contains a pers. name of diminutive type, *Gyd(e)la* rather than the *Gydd* to which Ekwall refers in his discussion of this name (PN in *-ing* 74, 88, 160). Great Gidding is Gidding *Prioris*, so called from the holding of the Prior of Huntingdon (FA ii. 472), Little Gidding is Gidding *Engayne* (FA ii. 470, 471, 475) (*VCH*).

Steeple Gidding

STEEPLE GIDDING

Stepelgedding 1260 *Ass* (p)

Geddingg Abbatis 1276 RH

Stepel Guiddying 1291 Tax

Gydding Abbatis 1294 BM

Steple Gyddying al. *Abbott Gyddying* 1598 FF

'Abbot's' from the holding of the Abbot of Ramsey (*VCH*). At the present time there is a tower and spire at both Great and Steeple Gidding. One must presume that at one stage in their history Steeple Gidding alone had this distinction.

Grafham

GRAFHAM 74 J II

Grafham 1086 DB, 1140-5 BM, 1159 P (p), John BM, 1200 FF, 1235 Cl, 1237 FF, 1278 *Ass*, 1302 Cl, 1303 FA, 1314, 1323, 1348 Ipm, 1373, 1400, 1416 FF, 1428 FA

Grafam 1140-50 BM

Graffham 1207 FF, 1236 Cl, 1316 FA

Grapham E 1 BM, 1285 FA

Groffham 1342, 1368 Cl, 1370 FF, 1382 Cl, 1409 BM, 1411 FF, 1428 FA, 1434, 1460 FF, 1548 Pat

Groff(e)ham 1387 IpmR, 1509 FF, 1535 VE, 1549 Pat, 1575 FF

Grofom 1393 BM

Gropham 1526 LS

Graff(e)ham 1535 VE, 1554 FF

Groffam 1535, 1553 FF

Croffham al. *Groffham* 1600 FF

'Grove-homestead' *v.* graf, ham. Grafham, three miles from Weybridge Farm *supra* 232, is in an old forest-area, and in the

Ramsey Cartulary (ii. 304) we have mention of *sex gravetae* in Grafham. In the history of the name there has been a curious fluctuation between forms with short *o* from the long *o* which developed normally from OE *ā*, and forms with short *a* which developed before the rounded *o*-forms arose.

EAST PERRY

Peri 1147 BM

Pirie c. 1180 (c. 1230) *Warden* 21 *b*

Est Perye 1323 Ipm

Pirie in Grofom 1393 BM

'Pear-tree' *v.* *pirige*.

Hamerton

HAMERTON 74 F 10

Hambertun 1086 DB

Hamertun 1152 BM, c. 1155 (13th) Colchester

Hamereton 1168 P (p)

Hamerton 1199 Cur, 1219 FF, 1227 *Ass* (*et passim*)

Hammerton 13th AD i, 1587 FF

It is difficult to believe that if there really was a *b* in this name in the time of DB that it would have then completely disappeared. Rather we must take it to be a sporadic appearance of a common type of epenthetic *b* between *m* and *r* (cf. Campton *supra* 167). That leaves us with *Hamer-* as the more correct form of the first element. Skeat suggests that there may have been an OE pers. name *Hamor*, as illustrated by such a p.n. as Hameringham (L), and this is endorsed, somewhat hesitatingly, by Ekwall (PN in *-ing* 141). Cf. OGer *Hamar*, ON *Hamarr*. If we believe we have this name here we must take the name to be one of that rare type in which the pers. name and the second element are placed together without any connecting genitival inflexion (cf. Kimbolton *infra* 243). The only other alternative is to take the full first element as having been a plant-name such as *hamor-secg*, 'hammer-sedge,' or *hamor-wyrt*, 'hammer-wort' or 'black hellebore' (cf. Skeat PN Hu 344) and to explain the present form as due to that dropping of the middle element from a triple p.n. compound for which Ritter gives a good deal of evidence (88 ff.). Hamerton stands on low ground, by Alconbury Brook.

DIPSLADE COPPICE (6")

cf. *Depeslade (in Stilton)* 1241 FF

This must have the same history as the lost place in Stilton and mean 'deep valley,' v. *deop, slæd*. There is a well-marked depression here.

Keyston

KEYSTON *olim* [kestən] 74 G 7

Chetelestan 1086 DB, 1163, 1166 P

Ketelestan 1172 P, 1209 For

Ketillistan 1173 P

Ketstan 1227 Ass (p)

Ketlestan 1227 Ass

Ketelston 1248 For

Keston 1255 *et passim* to 1442 IpmR

Ketston 1260 Ass

Kestan 1260 Ass, 1272 FF, 1286 Orig, 1293 Ipm, 1299 FF,
1303 SR, FA, 1428 FA

Kesston 1309 Ipm

Kaiston 1526 LS

Keyston 1553 FF

Kayston al. *Keyston* 1560 FF

Keston 1647 HMC App viii. 2

Keyston or *Keston* c. 1750 Bowen

'Ketill's stan.' The pers. name is of Scand. origin. As Key-ston is the most westerly village in the county it is probable that the *stan* was a boundary stone marking the westernmost limit of the shire or of some more ancient local division which it represents.

CROW'S NEST HILL

cf. *Krowenisthill in Ellington* 1216-30 BM

A clear duplication of name in parishes not so very distant.

Kimbolton

KIMBOLTON *olim* [kiməltən] 74 J 9

Chenebaltone 1086 DB

Kenebolton 1185 Rot Dom

Kinebald' 1232 Cl

Kinebalton, Kyn- 1232 Cl, 1260 *Ass*, 1288 Cl, 1293 Ipm

Kenebauton 1232 Cl, 1236 Pat, 1303, 1316 FA, 1368 AD i

Kenebaudton 1247 *Ass*

Kenebalton 1260 *Ass*

Kynebauton, Kine- 1284 FA, 1289 *Ct*, 1292 NI, 1293 Ipm,
1302 Ch, 1303 FA, 1310 FF, 1377 Cl, 1428 FA

Kynebauton cum Soke 1327 *SR*

Kymbalton 1329, 1361 *Fine*, 1362, 1373 Cl, 1427 FF, 1443
HMC App x. 4, 1542 BM, 1585 AD v

Kimbolton, Kym- 1330 Ch, 1428 FA

Kymmoltun al. *Kymbalton* 1544, 1553, 1575 FF

Kymbolton al. *Kynebauton* 1572 FF

Kymoltun 1588 AD v

'Cynebeald-farm,' with immediate juxtaposition of the pers. name and the second element. *v.* tun and cf. Wymington *supra* 50.

BRIGHTAMWICK (lost)

Brihtelmewic 1167 P

Brihtelinwic (sic) 1279 RH

Brythomwyk, Brythamwyk 1347 AD ii

'Byrthelm dairy-farm' *v.* wic.

DUDNEY WOOD (6")

boscus de Dudenhey 1241 FF

'Duda's enclosure' *v.* (ge)hæg.

KIMBOLTON PARK

Parcus de Kimbolton 1248 *For*

NEWTOWN

Neuton 1286 *Ass*

Newtowne Eliz ChancP

'New farm' *v.* niwe, tun.

STONELY olim [stonli]

Stanlegh 1260 *Ass*

Stonle(gh) 1260 *Ass*, E 1 BM, 1279 RH *et passim*

Staynley 1287 *Ass*

Stonley 1766 J

'Stony clearing' *v.* *stan*, *leah*. In the modern form the vowel has been lengthened under the influence of the independent word as in the identical Stoneleigh (Wa).

WORNDITCH [wəˈndɪtʃ]

Wormedik 1279 RH

Wormedich, -ych 1279 RH, 1286 *Ass*, 1360 AD iii, 1366 AD i,
1432 AD i, 1535 VE, 1579 FF

Wermedych 1286 *Ass*, 1288 Ipm

Wyrmedych cum Neuton 1286 *Ass*

Wyrnedich 1286 *Ass*

Warmedyche 1587 FF

'The ditch or dike of *Wyrma* or possibly of *Wurma*.' *v.* *dic*. The old forms may perhaps be explained from *Wyrma* alone for OE *y*, ME *u*, is occasionally represented by *o*. But as OE *y* in Hunts usually appears as *e* or *i* we should perhaps take the *Worm*- forms as from OE *Wurma*. The name *Wyrma* is found in Warmington (Nth), Wormegay (Nf) and Worminghall (Bk).

Leighton Bromswold

LEIGHTON 74 G 9/10

Lectone 1086 DB, 1229, 1237 Cl

Lehtone 1227 *Ass*

Letton 1230 FF

Leghton 1253 FF

Lethton 1260 *Ass*

BROMSWOLD

Bruneswald 1168 P (p)

The two names are first associated in

Leghton super Bromeswolde 1287 *Ass*

and similar forms with the second element as follows

Brouneswald 1286 QW

Brouneswold 1287 *Ass*, 1347 FF

Broneswold 1300 Winton

Brunneswold 1301 FF

and then

Leyghton Brounsold 1542 FF

Leyghton Bromeswold al. *Brymeswold* 1549 FF

Leyghton Bromsolde 1554 FF

v. leac, tun. The name must have been used of a farm well stocked with garden-produce. The second name is from OE *Brunes-w(e)ald*, 'Brun's wold,' and describes the high open ground on which Leighton stands. *v. weald.*

SALOME WOOD etc. [sələm]

Salne 1227 *Ass* (p), 1260, 1286 *Ass*, 1364 *Ch*

Sale 1227, 1260 *Ass*

Graua de Salem 1248 *For*

Salene 1279 *RH*, c. 1350 *Rams*

Salue (sic) 1284 *Cl*, 1286 *QW*

boscus de Salnee 1286 *For*

Salewe 1316 *FA*

Leyghton cum Salene 1327 *SR*

Salengrove 1357 *Ipm*

Leighton Salon 1466 *IpmR*

Salom Wood 1610 *Speed*

OE (*æt þāem*) *sēalum*, 'at the willows,' *v. sealh*. The modern final *m* and *e* are quite misleading.

Molesworth

MOLESWORTH *olim* [mɔlzwəθ] 74 G 8

Molesworde 1086 *DB*

Mulesw(u)rth 1208 *FF*, 1227 *Ass*, 1228, 1231 *FF*, 1279 *RH*, 1285 *FA*

Moleswurth 1232 *Cl*

Mulesworth 1234 *Cl*, 1316 *FA*

Mulisw(o)rth 1248 *FF*, 1289 *Cl*

Mollesw(o)rth 1253 *FF*, 1286 *Ass*, *For*, 1327 *Ch*, 1357 *Cl*, 1359 *Ipm*

Mullesworth 1260 *Ass*, 1303 *SR*, 1325 *FF*, 1327 *SR*, 1330 *Ipm*, 1334 *FF*, 1386 *Cl*, 1389 *IpmR*, 1393 *Cl*, 1428 *FA*, 1429, 1467 *FF*

Molesworth 1303, 1428 *FA*

Moulisworthe 1324 BM
Mellesworth 1353 Cl, 1358 Ipm
Mullysworth 1407 FF
Mowlesworth 1467 BM, 1571 FF
Mowlesworth al. *Mullesworth* 1515 FF
Mulsworth 1535 VE
Moulsworth 1675 Ogilby

‘Mul’s enclosure’ *v. worþ*. It is evident that there was a long struggle between forms in which OE *Mūl* underwent its natural shortening to *Mull* in the compound and those in which the long vowel was kept. The latter ultimately prevailed here, as also in Moulsoford (Berks), Moulscombe (Sx), Molesey (Sr), Moulsham (Ess). A similar struggle took place with regard to Moulsoe (Bk).

Spaldwick

SPALDWICK [spɔːldɪk] 74 H 10

Spalduice 1086 DB
Spalduníc(c) 1086 (c. 1180) Inq El
Spaldewic(k) 1086 (c. 1180) Inq El, 1155 (1329) Ch, 1163, 1167, 1185 P
Spalduic 1109 BM
Spaudewyk 1209 *For* (p)
Spaldewyk, -*wik* 1260 *Ass*, 1285 FA, 1327 SR, 1330 FF, 1428 FA
Spaldinwike 1286 *Ass*
Spaldingwik 1286 QW
Spaldwycke 1316 FA
Spaldewick 1326 Cl
Spaldwyk 1554 BM
Spaldicke 1583 FF
Spalwick 1610 Speed

It is impossible to carry the story of this name any further than Ekwall (PN in *-ing* 88-9), where he relates it to Spalding (L), Spaldington (Y), Spalford (Nt), earlier *Spaldesford*, Spalding Moor (Y) and the *Spalda* of the Tribal Hidage (BCS 297). The natural thing would perhaps be to relate all these names to some lost pers. name, but there is no other evidence for such in the Germanic languages, and Ekwall suggests that we have a lost river-name in Spalford, Spaldwick and Spalding,

while in Spalding Moor and Spaldington we may have an actual settlement from Spalding itself. This river-name he takes to be derived either from OE *spald*, 'spittle, foam,' or an OE **spald*, cognate with OGer *spalt*, denoting 'trench, ditch,' and specially applicable to the fen-land rivers. It should be noted in addition that the name in the Tribal Hidage refers almost certainly to the Spalding district, and as at least two other names in the Hidage are taken from river-names (cf. *Gifla* = Ivel and *Hicca* = Hiz) this identification slightly strengthens the case for a river-name *Spald*.

UPTHORPE

Upthorp(e) 1260 *Ass* (p), 1269 FF, 1279 RH

Opþorp 1279 RH

Stowe cum Upthorp 1286 *Ass*

'Upper farm,' because it is on higher ground away from the valley in which Spaldwick itself lies. For *thorpe* here, cf. Ellington Thorpe *supra* 239.

Stow

LONG STOW 74 H 9

Estou, Estove 1086 (c. 1180) Inq El

Stowe 1219 FF

Oueristowe 1248 FF

Longestowe 1286 *For, Ass*, 1327 Cl

Ourestowe 1286 *Ass*

Langestowe 1344 Fine

v. stow. We have no knowledge of the sense in which the term was used in this particular case. *Long* probably because the village is somewhat long and straggling, *Over* because it is on some of the highest ground in the neighbourhood.

STOW GROVE (6")

Stowegrove 1279 RH

Tilbrook¹

TILBROOK 74 J 8

Tilebroc 1086 DB, 1202 *Ass*

Tillebroc 1202 *Ass*, 1203 FF, 1227 *Ass*, 1242 Fees 888

Tillebrok, Tyll- 1227 *Ass*, 1276 *Ass* (*et passim*)

Tylebrok, Til- E 1 *SR* (*et passim*)

¹ Formerly in Beds.

Tylbroke 1276 *Ass*

Tilebroke 1287, 1307 *Ass*

'Til(l)a's stream' *v. broc*. If that is the case this must have been the old name of what is now called the river Til or (further down stream) the river Kym. Alternatively we might perhaps take *broc* here to mean low-lying land (*v. EPN*). The river-name *Til* is certainly only a back-formation from Tilbrook.

HARDWICKS

Herdwik E I *SR*

v. heordewic.

Upton

UPTON 74 F II

Opetune 1086 DB

Upton 1285 FA, (*juxta Wodeweston*) 1286 *Ass*

'Upper farm,' either from its general situation or (with Weston) from their relation to Alconbury in particular.

STANGATE HILL

Stangate 1146 Cott vii. 3

regalis via q. voc. Stangate 1286 *Ass*

Gate here must be the Scand. loan-word *gate* from ON *gata*, as the name seems to have been actually applied to Ermine Street itself. It is borne by this road at the point where it climbs to cross the ridge between the fen-land east of Sawtry and the flats along Alconbury Brook. Stukeley (*Itinerarium Curiosum*, Iter v, 81) says that the name means 'paved with stone,' some of it still being in existence near Stilton in his day, i.e. 1742¹.

UPTON WOOD

boscus de Upton 1227 *Ass*

Alconbury Weston

ALCONBURY WESTON 74 F II

*Westune*² 1086 DB

Alkmundebir Weston 1227 *Ass*

¹ This reference is due to the kindness of Mr E. C. Gardner.

² Has *soke* in Alconbury.

Wodeweston 1260, 1286 *Ass*

Awconbury cum Weston 1557 *FF*

Aukingbury Wiston 1675 *Ogilby*

'West-farm,' apparently in relation to the settlement at Alconbury, *Wood-weston* in contrast to Old or *Wold* Weston *infra*, cf. also Old Hurst and Woodhurst *supra* 211, 229.

HERMITAGE WOOD

'a place called *Hermitage*' 1326 *Ipm*

Old Weston

OLD WESTON

Westune 1086 *DB*

Wald Weston 1227 *Ass*

Wold(e)weston 1249 *Misc*, 1260 *Ass*, *FF*, 1305 *FF*, 1316 *FA*,
1343 *AD v*, 1346 *Cl*

Weston juxta Leytthon 1274 *FF*

Weston de Wald 1276 *RH*, 1286 *For*

Weston de Waldis 1285 *FA*

Weston super Waldis 1303 *Ass*, *FA*

Weston super Brouneswold 1442 *FF*

Oldweston 1535 *VE*

Olde Weston 1553 *FF*

Weston al. Owld Wessen 1594 *FF*

'West farm' in relation perhaps to Easton (*v.* 238 *supra*). It stood on the *wold* known as Bromswold (cf. Leighton Bromswold *supra* 245) and came to be known as Wold Weston in contrast to Alconbury or Wood Weston.

COCKBROOK LODGE

aqua de Cukusbrygg, Cukusbrygg, Cukisbrygg 1286 *Ass*

The association of this stream in the Eyre Roll with Winwick and Old Weston makes it practically certain that here we have a name connected with the Cockbrook found in this name and in Cockbrook Farm, Lane and Spinney in the neighbouring Brington parish. The brook is the now nameless stream which flows by Old Weston and the bridge must be the one which crosses it at that village. The etymology is obscure.

OLD WESTON GROVE (6")

Westongraue super Waude 1261 FF

Winwick

WINWICK 74 E 9

Wineuiche 1086 DB*Winewic, Wynewik* 1195 BM, 1227 Ass, FF *et passim* to 1428 FA*Wynwyk* 1348 Ipm, 1428 FA*Wynnewyke* 1393, 1447 IpmR*Wynnewyg* 1399 IpmR*Windwike* 1535 VE*Winnick* 1641 HMC'Wina's dairy-farm' *v. wic.*

Woolley

WOOLLEY 74 G 11

Ciluelai (sic) 1086 DB*Wulueleia* 1158 P*Wulfelea* 1180 P*Whuele* 1219 For*Wolvele* 1220 Fees 334, 1285 FA, 1315 Ipm*Wulvele* 1227 ClR*Wlfe(g)* 1242 Fees 922, 1248 FF*Wolfe* 1255 For*Wulleggh* 1260 Ass*Wolle(y)* 1276 RH, 1303 FA, 1315 Fine, 1580, 1627 BM*Well(e)y* 1314 Orig, 1316 Fine, 1317 Cl*Wulle(e)* 1390 FF, 1399 IpmROE *wulfa-leage* (dat.), 'wolves' clearing, a fairly common p.n. *v. leah*.

IV. TOSELAND HUNDRED

Toleslund 1086 DB*Touleslund* 1227 Ass, 1303 FA*Touleslond* 1316 FA, 1364, 1370 Cl*Tousland* 1428 FA*Toseland* 1585 D

The name is of pure Scandinavian origin (*v. Toseland infra 272*), and it is a matter of interesting speculation whether one should believe in any definite connexion between the religious associations of the old word *lundr* (cf. Holland *supra* 220) and the ceremonial of the meeting of the Hundred. A large stone, which might have been the base of a cross, is in the churchyard, and is locally said to have been the 'moot-stone.' Part of the fragmentary Roman road from Sandy to Godmanchester is known in the neighbourhood of Toseland as 'Moats' or 'Moots Way'¹.

Abbotsley

ABBOTSLEY [ævəzli] *olim* [ɔːbzli] 84 D 13

Adboldesl' Hy 2 (Hy 3) *St Neot* 81

Albedesleg 1257 FF

Adboldeslee Hy 3 *St Neot* 31

Abbodesle 1270 FF, 1303 FA, 1313 Fine, Cl

Albodeley 1272 FF (*Magna*)

Alboldesle(g) 1279 RH, 1310, 1334 FF

Albodesley, *Addeboldelee* 1286 *For*

Albotesle(y) 1286 QW, 1300, 1315 FF, 1318 Cl, 1436, 1470 FF

Abbotlesle(y) 1286 QW, 1318 Ipm, Cl, 1381 Cl, 1428 FA

Abbottesle(y) 1316 FA, 1517 FF

Albodesle 1317 FF

Abboltesle(y) 1375 Cl

Aubottesley 1549 Pat

Albottysley al. *Aubsley* al. *Abbottysley* 1561 FF

'Ealdbeald's clearing' *v. leah*. The later forms show the influence of the common word *abbot*. Abberley (Wo) has the same history and in 1535 (VE) has alternative forms *Abotesley* and *Aburley*.

Buckden

BUCKDEN [bʌgdən] 74 J 12

Bugedene 1086 DB, 1185 P, 1238 Cl, 1286 *Ass*

Bugendena 1155-8 (1329) Ch, 1185 P

¹ *ex inf.* Mr R. C. Gardner.

Buggeden 1167 P, 1227 Ch, *Ass*, 1235, 1238 Cl

Buggenden 1167 P

Bokeden 1245, 1255 *For*, 1324 Cl, 1327 *SR*, 1337 Cl, 1340 FF, 1354 Ipm, 1365 BM

Bogeden 1245 *For*, 1286 *Dunst*

Bukeden 1248 FF, 1260 FF, 1270 *Ass*, 1272 FF, 1286 *Ass*, 1316 FA, 1329 Ch, 1365 BM, 1497 FF

Bukedon 1270, 1286 *Ass*

Buckden 1279 Cl

Bokedon 1286 *Ass*

Buckeden 1335, 1376 Cl

Bukkedon 1401 BM

Bukton 1409 IpmR

Bugden 1478 FF, 1535 VE, 1558 FF, 1574, 1615-35 BM, 1660 *Linc*

Bukden, *Bucden* 1485 FA, 1526 LS

Bugden or *Buckden* c. 1750 Bowen

'Bucge's valley' *v. denu*. The later unvoicing of *Bug-* to *Buck-* is perhaps due to the influence of the not very distant Buckworth. *Bucge* is one of the most ancient hypocoristic feminine names found in OE. It may represent either one of the numerous feminine compound names ending in *burg* (e.g. *Eadburg*) or a feminine name such as *Burghild*, in which this name forms the first element. Cf. *Buggildstret*, *Bucganstræt* (BCS 126, 1201) as alternative names for Buckle Street (Wo). The name *Bucge* occurs also in Bognor (Sx), *Bucgan ora* BCS 50. No masculine *Bugga* is known.

EDWOLDESHEY (lost)

Edwaldeshell' (sic) 1200 Cur

Edwaldessay 1227 *Ass*

Edwoldeshey 1279 RH (*boscus*)

Eldwoldeshey 1307 Rams

'Eadweald's enclosure' *v. (ge)hæg*.

HARDWICK

Bukeden cum Herdwyk 1286 *Ass*

v. heordewic.

STIRTLOE

- Stirt* 1209 *For*
Stert 1231, 1284 FF
Sterth 1257 BM
Stertelawe 1286 *Ass*
Stirtloe 1574 BM

This must be a compound of *steort* used of a 'tongue or tail of land' and *hlaw*, 'hill.' Cf. *Sturteslowe* in Ravensden (1269). It is curious that there are no signs of what would have been the normal development to *Start* and *Startlow*. Mr R. C. Gardner informs us that there is nothing but a slight ridge here, rising up from the Ouse, nothing that we should really call a hill.

Diddington

DIDDINGTON 84 A 12

- Dodinctun* 1086 DB
Dodintone, *Dodynton* 1086 DB, 1167 P, 1209 *For*, 1281 FF, 1318 Cl
Dodintun' 1158 P
Dudinton 1220 Fees 333, 1227 *Ass*
Dudington, *Dudyington* 1227 *Ass*, 1228 Bract, 1248 FF, 1253 FF, *For*, 1286 FF, 1293 Cl, 1310 FF, 1325 Cl, 1340 FF, c. 1350 Pat, 1497 FF
Dodington, *Dodyngton* 1252 FF, 1253 *For*, 1270, 1286 *Ass*, 1301 BM, 1314 Cl, 1319 Ipm, FF, 1327 *SR*, 1375 Cl, Fine, 1470 IpmR, 1526 LS, 1551 FF
Duddington 1260 *Ass*, 1598 Cai
Doditone 1260 *Ass*, 1316 FA
Dedington 1286 *Ass*, 1535 VE, 1589 FF
Dydyngton, *Didington* 1442, 1572 FF
Doddington 1766 J

'Dudda's farm' *v. ingtun*, with the same curious development of *i* from *u* that we have in Denham, Dinton (Bk, W), Dinnington (Nb) and in Dinton (Nth), DB *Dodintone*. Skeat suggests that the name may have been influenced by the not very distant Dillington, but in view of the parallels quoted it is evident that this development might arise independently.

DIDDINGTON WOOD

boscus de Dodingtone 1255 *For*

Eynesbury

EYNESBURY 84 C 12

Eanulfesbirig c. 1000 Saints

Einuluesberie 1086 DB

Einulfesbiri c. 1125 WMP

Ainesbiri 1163 P

Enolfesburia 12th Ord

Eynebir 1227 *Ass*

Eynesbyr, -bir 1234 FF, 1235 Cl, 1286 *Ass*, 1303 FA, 1327
SR

Eynisbyr, -biry 1248 FF, 1275 Cl, 1313 *Ass*

Eynesbury 1316 FA, 1350 Ipm, 1376 Cl, 1428 FA, 1504 Ipm

Eynysbury 1498 Ipm

Aynsbury 1509 BM

Eymesbury 1577 FF

Ensberry Eliz ChancP

Aisbury c. 1600 *Linc*

This is a remarkable but perfectly clear example of the confusion of two like-sounding names. Originally the burh took its name from a man bearing the common OE name *Ēanwulf*. The diphthong in this name would by the time of the Conquest have become *æ*. Then this name became difficult to distinguish from late OE *Einulf* found in the form *Aegenulf*, *Agenulf*, as the name of a moneyer of Ethelred the Unready and as *Ainulf(us)*, *Einulf(us)* in various late OE documents. The name is continental rather than English in origin (*v. Forssner s.n. Aginulfus*). The substitution of such for an English name may have been assisted by the fact that after the founding of the priory in the 11th cent. Eynesbury became a centre of foreign influence.

Godmanchester

GODMANCHESTER 74 H/J 13/14

Godmundcestre 1086 DB, 1173 P

Gutmuncetre 1146-54 BM

Gudmencestre c. 1150 *HarlCh* 83 B 6

- Guðmundcestria* 1168 P, 1177 P, 1286 Ch
Gum(m)uncestre 1175, 1177 P
Gumencestre 1189 ChR
Guncestre 1189 ChR, 1362 Cl, 1526 LS
Gumcestria 1194 BM
Gumecestre 1197-8 P, 1217 Pat, 1219 FF, 1227 Ass, 1236 Ch,
 1245 For, 1327 SR, 1361, 1381 Cl, 1392 Ch, 1467 BM
Gommecestre 1267 Ch
Gomecestria 1285 BM, 1334 Ipm
Gummecestre 13th AD iii, 1308 Cl, 1324 Fine
Gurmund(es)cestre 1302 Orig, 1305 Cl
Gormecestre 1316 FA
Gormancestre 1322 Inq aqd
Gomecestre 1334 Ipm
Gunnecestre 1353 Orig
Gurmecestre 1361 Fine
Godmechestre 1380 Cl
Gurminchestre 1381 Cl
Gumchestre c. 1460 Linc (ter)
Gurmencestre 1485 FA
Gumcestre, Gumestre, Godmonchestre 1513 LP
Gumecestur 1521 FF
Gumycestre 1529 FF
Godmanchester 1535 VE
Godmanchester al. *Gunecestre* 1597 FF

The 'chester' (v. ceaster) recorded here is the Roman station south of Ouse, generally and probably, though not quite certainly, identified with the *Durolipons* of the Antonine Itinerary. The first element in the name is either *Guðmund* or *Godmund*, the latter found also in Goodmanham (Y) and Gumley (Lei). In each of these names, as in Godmanchester, later forms occur with a spelling *Guth-* or *Gut-*, and in Gumley and Goodmanham, if derivation from *Godmund* were not proved by early OE spellings, it would be uncertain whether *Godmund* or *Gūðmund* lay behind the medieval forms. The best explanation of these *Guth-*, *Gum-* forms is that the change of *o* to *u* results from anticipation of the *u* of the second element of the compound *Godmund*.

It is clear that in the *Gurm-* forms we have the results of a pseudo-historical tradition. William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Regum* (ch. 121) says that the Danish king Guthrum (Alfred's adversary) was called in English *Gurmundus*. From the resemblance of *Gurmund* to *Gudmund* a tradition that Guthrum founded Godmanchester must have arisen at least as early as the 14th cent., though the first reference to it is in Camden's *Britannia* 384 (1594 ed.), 'sed antiquito hoc sub Saxonibus nomine, a Gormone Dano Gormonchester vocari cepit.'

LATTENBURY HILL

Lodona beorg 1012 (12th) Proc Soc Ant (New Series) iii. 49

Professor Ekwall has communicated the following note upon the name:

The OE *Lodona* looks like a gen. pl. and it might be a tribal or folk-name. But as in this charter OE *lacu* appears twice in the dat. as *laca*, it is admissible to take *Lodona* to be the gen. of a *Lodon* f., which would normally have been *Lodone*. In either case it is tempting to compare the name with the river-name Loddon (Berks), Loddon (Nf) (probably an original river-name too), and Lothian (Sc). All no doubt belong to Brit **lutā*, 'mud.' Early forms of Lothian show a good deal of resemblance to *Lodona*, as *Lodoneum* 1098, *Lodonia* 1127 (see Förster, *Engl St lvi* 228 ff.). It is hardly worth while speculating upon the exact British ground-form of *Lodona*, if this is correct. Presumably the district round Huntingdon had a British name derived from **lutā*, 'mud,' and the name meant 'the fen-country.' Such a name would suit the locality very well indeed. We may thus perhaps assume that *Lodon* was an OE name of the Hunts district, a name adopted from their Celtic predecessors, and that Lattenbury is 'the hill in the Lodon district.' If, on the other hand, *Lodona* is a gen. pl., it may belong to a folk-name meaning 'the Lodon people.'

RAVENSHOE (lost)

Rauenesho Steph (1286) Ch, Hy 2 (c. 1230) *Warden* 22, 1279

RH

'Raven's hoh,' the first element being a name of either English or Scandinavian origin.

Great Gransden

GRANSDEN 85 D I

Grantesden(e) 1086 DB *et passim* to 1485 FA, (*Mekel*) 1339 Pat
Grantendene 1168 P (p), Hy 2 (Hy 3) *St Neot* 90, Hy 2 *HarlCh*

83 B 41

Grantesdon 1199 Cur, 1315 Ipm, 1377 Cl

Grancenden 1200 FF

Grantedone 1227 Ass

Grauncenden 1245 FF

Grauntedene 1276 RH

Magna Granteden E 1 BM

Grauntesden 1289 BM, 1296 Ch, 1314 Cl, 1382, 1426 IpmR

Grantisden 1315 Cl, Ipm

Grandesden Hy 4 AD i, 1422 IpmR, 1526 LS

Grayntesden 1428 FA

Graundesden 1535 FF

Grennesden 1536 FF

Gransden Berristeed 1598 FF

There is mention in the Croyland Cartulary (89 b) of a man named *Grante*, and it would seem that here we have the same pers. name, hence 'Grante's valley' (*v. denu*). The 1598 form is for 'bury-stead,' i.e. manor-site.

HARDWICKE

Herdewik 1227 Ass

Grantesden Herdwyk 1306 FF

v. heordewic.

LEYCOURT [legæt]

Lecote 1227 Ass, 1260 Ass (p)

Leycote cum Herdwyke 1286 Ass

Leycote 1539, 1544 FF

'Cottage(s) by the clearing' *v. leah, cot.*

Eynesbury Hardwicke

HARDWICKE

Herdwich 1209 Abbr

Herdwic 1234 FF

Herthwik 1260 *Ass*

Herdewik 1279 *RH*

Puttokesherdwyke 1286 *Ass* (p), 1334 *FF*

Puttukes Herdewik 1309 *BM*

Hardwyk 1318 *Ipm*

Pottokesherdewyk 1319 *Ipm*

Putteshardwyk 1517 *FF*

Puddock Hardwick 1766 *J*, 1826 *G*

v. heordewic. This seems to have been at one time distinguished from the numerous other Hardwicks by its owner's name of *Puttoc*, which is on record in OE as the second name of Ælfric *Puttoc*, archbishop of York, and was probably by origin a nickname from *puttoc*, 'kite,' though that word is not actually on record until the 15th cent. in the form *puttock*. It may, however, represent a diminutive form of the well-recorded OE pers. name *Putta*.

CALDECOTE

Caldecote 1242 *FF*

Caudicot 1260 *Ass*

v. ceald, cot.

LANSBURY FARM

Launceleynsbury 1506 *FF*

An example of the manorial use of burh, 'manor of the Launcelyn family.' The *Launcelyn* family were here in 1160, cf. St Neots Cartulary f. 38.

WEALD

Weld(e) 1219 *For*, 1270 *Ass*, 1279 *RH*, 1286 *Ass*, *For*, 1310, 1327 *FF*, 1410 *BM*, 1443 *IpmR*

Wald(e) 1220 *FF*, 1270 *Ass*

Waude 1227 *Ass*

Wolde 1286 *Ass*

Welde juxta S. Neotum 1287 *FF*

Weelde 1558 *FF*

v. weald, with much fluctuation between the two dialectal forms *weald* and *wold* which develop from it.

Hemingford Abbots and Grey

HEMINGFORD 75 H 1/2

Hemminggeford c. 1000 Hist El*Hemmingaford* 1012 (12th) Proc Soc Antiq iii. 49*Emingeford*, *alia Emingeford* 1086 DB*Hamicheford* c. 1150 BM*Hemingeford* 1150 BM, 1220 Fees 333 (*Trublevill*), 1236 Cl, 1272 FF*Hemmingeford*, *Hemmyngford* 1164 P, 1220 FF, 1235 Cl, 1236 FF, 1242 Fees 921, 1286 *Ass* (*iuxta Huntedon*)*Emmingeford* 1202 P*Hemmingford*, *Hemmyngford* 1218 FF, 1276 RH (*Abbatis*), 1289 Cl, 1307 BM (*iuxta S. Ivonis*), 1316 FA (*Grey*)*Hemingford*, *Hemyngford* 1248 FF (*West*), 1252 (c. 1350) Rams (*Magna Parva*)

The family name *Turbervill* is found in that form in 1272 FF, 1324 Cl, Ipm, as *Trubbeuill* al. *Turbetuill* in 1279 *Ass*, as *Tribehuill* in 1281 FF, *Trubuill* and *Turblevill* in E 2 Orig, *Turbetuill* in 1315 FF, *Trumbevill* in 1315 Cl, *Trubbeuill* 1316 Fine, *Turbduill* 1337 FF

'Ford of the people of Hemma or Hemmi.' Both names are recorded in LVD, and in ultimate origin are probably short forms of some compound name in *Hæm-*, such as *Hæmgils* (cf. *Bledda* from *Blæd-*). It may be noted that the name Hemmingford is recorded too early for derivation from ON *Hemmingr* to be likely. Cf. *Hemmingebroke* in Yaxley (*Thorney* 7 a). *Abbots* from a holding of the Abbot of Ramsey (DB), also known as *West Hemingford* and *Hemingford by Huntingdon*. Hemmingford Grey was so called from the Grey family who had a holding here in 1276 (RH), and was also known as Hemmingford by *St Ives*. The *Turberville* family, who also had a holding in Hemmingford, took their name in all probability from *Trubleville* in Normandy. Cf. Fabricius, *Danske Minder in Normandiet*, 268. *Abbots Hemingford* was in Great Hemmingford, the Grey holding was in Little Hemmingford (*VCH*).

LITTLEBURY

Littlebire, *Litlebyri* 1209 *For* (p), 1327 *SR* (p)*Lytle Biryhill* 13th AD iii

The name is self-explanatory except that we have no means of knowing just what the *bury* here may be. *v. burh*.

Hilton

HILTON 85 A 1

Hiltone 1196 FF (P) *et passim*

Hulton 1227 Ass (p)

'Hill-farm' *v. hyll, tun*. There is no actual hill, but the village is slightly above the level of the surrounding country.

Huntingdon

HUNTINGDON 74 H 14

Huntandun 973 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 1 b, c. 950 (921 A) ASC,
c. 1000 Cragg

Huntadun c. 1000 Cragg

Huntedun 1086 DB

Huntedon 1199 FF, 1230 Cl

Huntendonia, id est Mons venatorum 12th HH

Huntendon 1212 FF

Huntindon 1225 Pat, 1227 Ch, 1259 FF

Huntyngdon 1286 Ass

The OE *huntan-dūn* can at once be translated 'hunter's hill,' but such a derivation though possible is not on the whole very probable. In Huntingford (Wo), where association with hunting is certain, the original name was *huntena ford*, 'ford of the hunters,' in the plural. It is more likely that the well-recorded OE pers. name *Hunta*, which survived into the 12th cent., is contained here. It seems also to occur in Huntham (Sa) and Huntington (Y). This pers. name may have meant 'hunter,' or equally well may be a short form with a *t*- suffix of one of the numerous pers. names beginning or ending with *Hūn*. The latter is made probable by the existence of a mutated form **Hyntel*, **Hyntil*, preserved in Hintlesham (Sf). The *dun* in Huntingdon must be the stretch of rising ground between the Ouse and the valley in which King's and Abbot's Ripton lie.

HINCHINGBROOKE

Hychelingbrok 1260 Ass

Inchinbrok 1378 BM

Fynchyngbroke 1402, 1412 BM

Fynchynkbroke 1478 BM

Fyncheynbroke 1478 BM

Hynchenbrok 1526 LS

Hynchingbroke 1535 VE

This is a difficult name. Change of initial *h* to *f* is, however, not without parallel (*v.* Filbert Haugh in PN NbDu 85). In any case we may assume that *h* is the original initial sound. An OE *Hyncelingabroc* would explain the forms here given. There is on record an OE *Hynca* (LVD) from which an *-il* diminutive, *Hyncel* could easily be derived. Hence we may interpret the name as 'the stream of Hyncel's people.' Cf. Billing Brook *supra* 193 for a stream-name of this type.

Midloe

MIDLÖE 84 A 11

Middelho, Myd- 1135-60 (c. 1350) Rams, 1252 Ch, 1539 FF

Midelho c. 1200 (c. 1230) *Warden* 21 *b*

Middellowe 1535 VE

Medlowe 1567, 1594 FF

'Middle hill' (*v.* hoh), possibly in relation to Southoe or, still more probably, to the lost *Westhoe* (*v.* Southoe *infra* 266) on the one hand and the lost *Mulsoe* on the other.

MULSOE (lost)

Molesho 1257 BM

Mulsho 1540 FF

Mulso(w)e 1567 FF, Eliz ChancP

'Mul's hoh,' cf. Molesworth *supra* 246.

Offord Cluny and Offord Darcy

OFFORD 74 J 13, 84 A 13

Vpeforde, Opeforde 1086 DB

Uppeford 1195 BM, 1199 Cur

Opford 1199 Abbr, Cur, 1202 Cur, 1205 *P*

Oppeford 1199 Abbr, 1202 Cur

Upford 1199 Cur, 1230 Bract

Offord 1200 *Fine*, 1220 Fees 333 (*Willelmi Daci*), 1257 FF (*Clunye*), 1260 *Ass* (*Daneys*), 1261 FF, 1270 *Ass*, 1271 FF, 1286 *Ass*, FF, 1295 FF (*Deneys*), 1303 FA (*Daneys*), 1322 Ipm (*Deneys* al. *Daneys*), 1428 FA (*Deneys*), 1474 FF (*Dacy*), 1525 FF (*Dacy* al. *Danes*), 1596 FF (*Darcy* al. *Dacie*)

Hupford, Uppord 1200 FF

Ufford 1260 *Ass*, 1261 FF, 1327 *Fine*, 1373 IpmR, 1392 BM (*Denys*), 1399 IpmR, 1435 IpmR (*Deneys*), 1439 FF (*Deynys*)

Clearly 'up(per) ford,' but in relation to what other ford is not certain. It may however be noted that the Ouse is crossed at Offord Cluny for the first time above Huntingdon. Offord Cluny¹ from the monks of Cluny who held land here in DB. The *Dacy* family held land here in 1220 (Fees 333) and the widow of Joh. le *Daneys* in 1242 (ib. 923).

COTTON

Cotes 1086 DB

OE *cotum* (dat. pl.), 'cottages,' *v.* cot. DB has the nom. pl. form.

THORN (6")

Thorn' 1279 RH

Evidently so called from some prominent thorn-bush.

Great and Little Paxton

PAXTON 84 B 12

Parchestune 1086 DB

Pachstone 1086 DB

¹ Mr Candlin of Offord Cluny has kindly furnished a full list of modern field-names from that parish with sketch-map. Unfortunately no early forms of these names have been found so that it is impossible to do much with them. We have a *Ray* field close to the Ouse, clearly taking its name from that river (*v.* ea). There is also a *Rowboro* or 'rough hill' and a Parlour, earlier *Parlow*, field. This is probably from *pere-low*, 'pear-tree hill,' and a good example of the senseless corruptions which field-names often undergo. More interesting is *Innage* ground. The meaning is unknown, but it looks as if it were the same field-name found in Dunstable as *Les Westinnynges* (1371), *les North Innynges* with the same development of final -age for -inge which we have in Lymage and *Pillage* for Pilling, *v.* pp. 87, 270. Presumably this is the same as the word *inning*, denoting first the reclamation of waste or marsh land and then the land itself. If so the history of this word is carried back some two hundred years earlier than the first example in the NED.

Pacstonia Hy 2 *D* and *C* Linc D ii 90/3 no. 23, 1164 BM
(*Magna*)

Paxton ib. nos. 20, 21, 24, 25, 1227 *Ass et passim*

Pastona 1176 BM

Parua Paxton 1227 *Ass*

Magna Praxton 1245 *For*

Paxtone Parva 1316 FA

Magna Paxton al. *Muche Paxton* 1588 FF

The best explanation that can be offered of this name is that it was originally *pearroces-tun*, 'farm of or by the enclosure.' Cf. *parkesriding* (*Newn* 116 *b*). It is possible however that the reference may be to a fishery in the Ouse, cf. *Parkhall supra* 223. This would explain the DB form and (with metathesis of the *r*) the 1245 one. Early loss of *r* might be accounted for by the strangeness of the type of name or by the existence of such a name as *Pæcc*, for which *v. Skeat*, PN Hu 345. On the other hand, the Evesham Cartulary (MS of *circa* 1195) records a pers. name *Perruc* which is not found in OE records, and indeed is not easily explained, but may possibly be sufficiently ancient to enter into the present name. In any case the two forms with *r* in the first element should not be ignored in any attempt at the explanation of Paxton. *v. Addenda*.

GALLOW BROOK

Galuwe 1286 *Ass* (p)

Probably from a place where a gallows was erected.

HAIL BRIDGE

Hailebruge 1265 Coroner, (*juxta Haileruding*) *St Neot* 70 *b*

Halyisbrigg 1276 RH

Haillebrugg 1377 IpmR

The bridge over the Kym, once known as the Hail River, *v. supra* 7. For *riding v. hryding*.

MEAGRE (Fm) [megri]

Maugrey 1284 FF

Maugrith 1376 Cl

Mawgrych 1451 IpmR

Mangryth (sic) 1452 IpmR

Gt and Little Maugrey 1567 FF

Magrey 1571 FF

Meggary Farm 1836 O

This is probably from *Mæðelgār-rīð*, 'Mathelgar stream,' *v.* *rīð*, and cf. Sawtry *supra* 195. For the earlier stages of the development of the name, cf. Maugersbury (Gl) from *mæðel-gares byrig* (BCS 882).

St Neots

ST NEOTS [sənt ni'ts], [snouts], [sni'dz] 84 C 12

S' Neod 1132 E (12th) ASC

villa S. Neoti 1203 FF

Saint Nede 1310 Cl

St Nyot's 1329 Ipm

Seinthede 1381 Cl

Seynt Nedys 1513 FF

Mon. S. Neoti vulgo nuncupatur Sainte Need 1542 BM

St Edes 1558 BM

St Noots 1576 Cai

St Neotes al. *Saynt Nedes* 1583 FF

St Neots vulgo *St Nedes* c. 1750 Bowen

v. Addenda.

MONKS HARDWICK

Herdwic, Herdewyk Monachorum 1203, 1313 FF

Hungry Hardwick 1766 J

v. heordewic. This Hardwick was distinguished from others by being known as *Monks'* from its possession by the monks of St Neots. It also seems to have had a reproachful epithet 'Hungry.'

WINTRINGHAM

Wintringeham Hy 2 (Hy 3) *St Neot* 46 b

Wintringham, Wynt- 1227, 1270, 1286 *Ass et passim*

Winteringham 1270 *Ass*

'Homestead of the people of *Wintra* (actually on record) or *Winter* (which is suggested by such a p.n. as Winterslow (W)).' Cf. Winteringham (L), Wintringham (Y) and Winterton (L).

Southoe

SOUTHOE 84 A 12

Sutham 1086 DB*Sudho* 1187 P, 1220 Fees 333*Suho* 1220 FF *et saepissime**Southo(u)* 1255 FF, 1274 Ipm, (*Wynchestr'*, *Lovetoft*) 1276 RH*Sutho cum Westho* 1286 Ass

The meaning is obvious for there is a well-marked hill here (*v. hoh*). It was 'south' in relation to a lost *West-oe*, which may have been the hill just to the north of Little Paxton Wood. This place was the *caput* of the Feudal Honour of *Southoe Luvetot*, held by Nigel de Luvetot in 1166 (RBE 372, 3). *Luvetot* is a Norman p.n. with Scand. *tot* or *toft* as the second element. It is once found as *Ulvtofte*. It is difficult to say which of the two is the original and which the translation (cf. Fabricius, *Danske Minder*, 314). In 1242 (*Fees* 922) the Earl of Winchester held the third part of a knight's fee in Southoe.

BOUGHTON (Lodge)

Buchetone 1086 DB*Bouton* 1199 Cur, 1225, 1248 FF, 1303 SR, Cl, FA, Ipm,
1316 FA, 1317 Cl, 1318, 1350 Ipm*Buweton* 1220 Fees 333*Bugheton* 1225 FF*Bukton, Bucton* 1340 FF, 1351 Ipm*Boudon* 1360 FF, 1363 Ipm*Bowton* 1375 Cl*Bowedon* 1383 FF

OE *Bugan-tūn*, 'Buga's farm.' The *Buche-*, *Buwe-* and *Buge-* forms make it impossible to take this, with Skeat, as an example of the common OE *bōc-tūn*, 'beech-tree farm.'

WRAY HOUSE

Ray Houses 1766 J

The modern form is clearly corrupt. The place lies down by the Ouse and the older form shows that we have one of the common examples of *Ray* developing from OE *ea*, 'river,' noted under that word in EPN. The modern form shows the influence of the north country dialectal *wray*, 'nook, corner'

(*v. vra*). It is quite possible that a similar corruption has taken place in Wray Common in Reigate (Sr) and that Wray is really the same word as the *Rei-* in that name, which in its turn seems to be nothing but the word *Rye* or *Rey* from OE *eg* noted in PN Bk 205.

Fen Stanton

FEN STANTON 75 J 2

Stantun 1012 (12th) Proc Soc Antiq iii. 49

Stantone 1086 DB *et passim*

Stantun(e) c. 1150 (c. 1300-25) *Thorney* 168 b, 1234 Cl

Staunton 1227 Ass, 1229 Bract, 1234, 1236, 1238 Cl, 1253 Ch, 1254, 1257 FF, 1286 Ass

Stanton Gisebryt de Gante 1245 (c. 1350) Rams

Stanton Grysebryke, Gryseby 1257 FF, 1280 Ch, 1286 Ass, 1292 Ch, 1303 FA

Fenstanton 1260 Ass

Staunton Gryseby 1272 FF

Fenstaunton 1315 Ch

Fen Stanton al. *Fenny S.* 1323 Inq aqd

Fenistanton, Fenny- 1344 FF, 1353 Cl, 1354 Ipm, 1372, 1377 Cl, 1526 LS

Fennystaunton Hy 6 IpmR, 1489 FF, Eliz ChancP

Fennystanton 1836 O

For this common but somewhat ambiguous p.n. *v. stan, tun. Fenny* or *Fen*, probably in contrast to Long Stanton (C) which is on rather higher ground. Cf. similarly *Fen* and Dry Drayton (C). The manorial addition is due to a holding of *Gislbirt* or *Gilbert de Gaunt* who, in 1228, held land in Stanton and was followed there by two other Gilberts of Gaunt (*VCH*).

LAKE BROOK (6")

(*oð ða ealdan*) *laca* 1012 (12th) Proc Soc Antiq iii. 49

v. lacu, the reference being to some slow-moving fen-land stream.

Great Staughton

STAUGHTON 84 A 10

Stoctun c. 974 (c. 1250) BCS 1306

Tochestone 1086 DB

Stottun 1163 P

Stocton(a) 1163 P (Chanc Roll), 1209 FF, 1232 FF (*Magna*)
et passim

Stoctun c. 1198 BM, 1318 FF

Stoucton 1260 *Ass*

Stokton 1287 *Ass*, 1316 FA, 1378 Cl, 1502 Ipm

Stoghton 1358 Cl, 1366 FF

Stoughton 1504 Ipm

Moche Staughton 1566 BM

Stowghton Magna al. *Stocton* 1592 FF

'Farm-enclosure made of stumps or stöcks' *v.* *stocc*.

AGDEN (Green)

Accadena 1124-8 (14th) Scottish Hist. Review xiv. 371 (*bis*)

Hakeden 1227 *Ass* (*boscus de*)

Akeden 1241 FF, 1248 *For*, 1327 *SR* (p)

Agden Grene 1553 FF

The first form makes derivation from an OE *āc-denu* (*v.* *ac*, *denu*) highly improbable and suggests that the first element was the ancient OE pers. name *Acca*. In the 12th cent. an Anglo-Scandinavian pers. name *Acca* (or *Akke*) existed as a short form of the common ON *Ásketill*. It is however improbable that this name would appear in combination with the OE *denu* in a Huntingdonshire p.n.

BEACHAMPSTEAD (lost)

Bechansted 1141-53 BM

Bich(ch)amstede, *Bych-* Hy 2 BM, 1227 *Ass*

Bi(c)ch(h)amstede, *Bych-* 1163 P, 1197 P, 1231 Bract, 1248,
1316 FF, 1318, 1358 Ipm, 1418 FF

Bicchamestud 1228 FF

Bichamstude 1245 *For*

Bichehamstede, *Bych-* 1248 FF, 1429 AD i

Bechamstede 1341, 1478, 1545 FF

Bichampstede, *By-* 1377 FF, 1378 Cl, 1489 Ipm

Beauchampstede 1484 FF

Beachamstede 1577 FF

'Bicca's hamstede.' For the pers. name and for the irrational lengthening of the vowel we may compare the history of Beach-

endon (Bk). Desire to dissociate the name from *bitch* and ready association with *beech* have both done their work in these names as in Beechburn (Du), locally *Bitchburn*.

BLASWORTH (lost)

Blaywurth 1227 Ass

Blaysworth, Blayswurth 1241 FF, 1254 Pat, 1279 RH, 1286 Ass

Blaesworth 1255 For (p), 1260 Ass

Bleyswrth 1260 Ass

Bleieswrth 1279 RH (p)

Blesworthe 1279 RH, 1286 Ass

Blayesworth 1286 Ass

Blaythesworth 1286 Ass

Blysworth 1286 Ass

Blasworth 1535 VE

No certainty can be attained with regard to this name. With the second element *word* and a first element in the possessive, the presumption is that the former is a pers. name. The form *Blaythesworth* found in 1286, which at first sight seems to provide a clue to a fuller form, is probably to be taken rather as a bad spelling, due to anticipation of the *th* which is to come later in the word. The diphthong *ay*, *ey* has arisen presumably from the loss of an intervening consonant, which might be *g* (when the loss would be perfectly normal) or *th* (when we should have an example of the common intervocalic loss of *th* due to AFr influence, cf. Sawtry, Meagre *supra* 195, 264). There is an OE *blæge*, 'gudgeon, bleak,' which may conceivably have been used as a pers. name by way of nickname, cf. the common metaphorical use of *gudgeon* of 'a greedy person.' This would readily explain the later forms. Alternatively OE *blēað*, ME *blethe*, 'soft, effeminate,' may equally well have given rise to a nickname which would, though not quite so readily, explain the later forms.

DILLINGTON

Dilington 674 (12th) BCS 32, c. 1100 (c. 1350) Rams

Dellinctune 1086 DB

Dylynton, Dili-, Dily- 1241 FF, 1253 BM

Dilington, Dyl- 1245 *For*, 1297 *Ipm*, 1303 *Ch*, FA, 1310, 1342
Cl, 1358 *Fine*, 1359 *Ipm*, 1365 *Cl*, 1464 *BM*

Dulintone 1255 *For*

Delington, Dely- 1286 *Ass*, 1372 *BM*, 1377 *FF*, 1378 *Cl*

Dillyngton, Dyll- 1323 *Ipm*, *Cl*, 1340 *Ipm*, 1428 *FA*

Dellington al. Dyllington 1599 *FF*

In the forged charter BCS 32 there is mention of a *diling-broc* among the boundaries of Dillington. The probability is, not that the hamlet takes its name from the stream, but that both alike take their name from the same person, a fairly common phenomenon in place-names (cf. the history of Waddesdon and Beachendon, PN Bk 138-9). The later forms point clearly to an OE *Dy(l)la* as first element, probably a derivative of the adj. *dol*, 'foolish,' and allied to the pers. name which lies behind Dullingham (C), cf. Ekwall PN in *-ing* 139. Hence 'Dyl(l)a's farm and brook,' *v. ingtun*.

GAYNES (Hall)

Gaynes 1389 *Cl*

Gaynes Hall 1593 *FF*

This is a manorial name from the Engayne family, who had land in Great Staughton (cf. *FF* 1288). William *Ingania*, a member of this family, held a manor in Gidding in 1086. On the family see Round in VCH, Northants, i. 294.

LYMAGE (Fm)

Limminges, Lymmynges 1209 *For*, 1237 *Cl*

Lymmynge, Limmynge 1241 *FF*, 1279 *RH*, 1302 *Ch*

Limmig' 1242 *P*

Limming' 1255 *For*¹

Liminges 1286 *For*

Lemyng 1350 *Ipm*, 1354 *Orig*

Lymenge 1354 *Orig*, 1358 *Fine*, 1389 *IpmR*

Lymyng 1375 *Cl*

Lymmyng al. Lymmage 1544 *FF*

¹ The reading as printed in *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Selden Soc. xiii) is *Limininge*. It is true that in this case we have simply minims with no marks upon them at all, but when the name is repeated afterwards there are faint dots to mark the *i* on either side of the six minim strokes.

This name is dealt with by Ekwall in his PN in *-ing*, and he definitely disassociates it from Lyminge (K), earlier *Limingae*, *Liminiæae* (BCS 97, 160). He is of course right so far as the suffix is concerned. In one case we have *Limm* + *inge(s)* and in the other *Limin* + *ge*. The first element in the latter name he takes to be the well-established river-name *Limen* found also in Leam (Wa) and Lemon (D). The first element of the former he takes to be a river-name *hlymme*, 'torrent,' connected with OE *hlymman*, 'to roar.' Such a name does not seem very appropriate for a Huntingdonshire stream and it may be that after all the two names are identical. If the earlier and fuller form of the Hunts name was *Liminingas* this would readily become *Limminges* by assimilation. Such an assimilation of *mn* to *m(m)* is common as in *stemn* becoming *stem* and *emn* becoming *em*, *remn* or *ramn* becoming *rem* or *ram* in the history of OE *stefn*, *efn* and *hræfn*. No certainty is possible, but it is clear that Lymage must take its name from the small stream on which it stands, whether its name was *Hlymme* or *Limen*, and that the suffix is *-ingas* denoting the dwellers on that stream. For the development of the *-age*, cf. Pilling *supra* 87.

WEST PERRY

Pirie 1086 DB, 1227 *Ass*, 1286 *Ass* (*Louetot*) *et passim*

Perihe 1219 FF

Pery 1463 FF

Pury 1478 FF

Pyrry 1484 FF

'Pear-tree' *v.* *pirige*.

PERRY WEST WOOD

boscus de Pirie 1286 *For*

STAUGHTON BRIDGE

atte Brigge 1325 *Abbr* (p)

STAUGHTON MOOR

Mora de Stocton 1227 *Ass* (p)

Mora 1279 RH

Tetworth

TETWORTH 84 E 13

Tethewurða c. 1150 BM*Tetteworth* 1209 *For* (et *passim*)*Tetteswurthe* 1244 (c. 1350) Rams, 1286 QW

'Tetta's enclosure' *v. word.* For personal names *Tetta*, *Teota*, and *Teotta*, we may compare Teddington (Wo), *Teottingtun* BCS 236, Tettenhall (St), ASC *s.a.* 909 D *Teotanheale*, Tedburn (D), *Tettanburna* BCS 1331.

Toseland

TOSELAND 84 B 13

Toleslund 1086 DB¹, c. 1180 *D and C Linc* D ii 90/3 no. 24,
1255 *For*

Touleslund 1231 FF, 1286 QW*Tholeslund* 1241 FF*T(h)ouleslound* 1281 FF, 1308 Ipm

Toulislond, *Toules-* 1284 Cl, 1303, 1316 FA, 1317 Ipm, 1319
Pat, 1329 FF, 1346 Orig, 1361 Cl, 1362 IpmR

Tollesland 1321 Orig*Toulesland* 1324 Ipm*Tow(e)slond* 1364 FF, 1428 FA, 1443 IpmR*Touslond* 1378 Cl*Touseland* 1396 IpmR*Towesland* 1507 FF*Towseland* 1540 BM, 1568 FF

The second element in this name is the ON *lundr*, probably with the heathen religious associations attached to it, cf. Holland *supra* 220, 252. It is possible with Skeat to identify the first element with the Danish earl called *Toglos* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the *Toli* of the *Liber Eliensis*, an earl of this district, who fell at the battle of Tempsford in 921. It should be added that while the identification of *Toglos* and *Toli* seems certain, it is impossible to bring these two names into elation with one another. *Tóli* is found, though rarely, in ONorw but is more common in ODan *Toli* and in OSw *Tole*.

¹ The vill is not mentioned in DB, this is the form of the hundred-name derived from it.

Toglos is unknown, though Björkman suggests (NP 142) that it might be a nickname from ON *tauglauss*, 'ropeless,' applied perhaps to a man who at a critical time had not got the right ropes on his ship. If that was his real name the writer of the *Liber Eliensis* being unfamiliar with this name may have turned it into a more familiar one or (just conceivably) the earl may have had an alliterative nickname and been called *Toli Tauglauss*. Whatever be the true relation of *Toglos* and *Toli* there is a good deal to be said for thinking that both names lie behind Toseland. *Toglos* would readily explain the persistent ME *Toul-*, otherwise very difficult to account for. *Toli* on the other hand is needed for early *Tol-* forms. The reduction of the suffix *-los* has its parallel in Brocklesby (L) which appears as *Brochelesbi* in DB but which (from other early forms) certainly contained ON *Bróklauss*, a nickname meaning 'breechless.' So also Scamblesby (L) from ON *Skamlauss*, 'shameless.' On the other hand, the gen. sg. of ON *Tóli* is *Tóla*, and we should have expected an *s*-less form as in Tolthorpe (R) if that name had lain behind Toseland.

TOSELAND WOOD (6")

boscus de Tolleslond 1245 *For*

Waresley

WARESLEY [weizli] 84 D 14

Wedreslei(e), *Wederesle* 1086 DB

Weresle(a), *Wereslai* c. 1130 (Hy 3) *St Neot* 90, 1169 P, 1193-8 BM, 1200 FF, 1220 Fees 333, 1227, 1291 *Ass*, 1289 Cl, 1303, 1316 FA, 1323 Ipm, 1330, 1378, 1389 Cl, 1485 FA, 1533 FA, 1535 VE

Waresle(g) 1199 Cur, 1273 Ipm, 1286 FF, 1309 Orig, 1316 FA

Wesisleg 1224 FF

Wersle(y) 1299 BM, 1351 FF

Werisley, *Werysle(y)* 1323 Cl, 1327 SR, 1340, 1425, 1484, 1549 FF

Wyrseleye al. *Wersleye* 1323 Ipm

Worsle 1377 Cl, 1384 BM

Wyersley c. 1400 *Linc*

Waresl(e)y 1435 AD i, 1496 Ipm

Whearesley c. 1540 *Linc*

Weyrysley 1554 FF

Werisley al. *Werysley* 1571 FF

Warseley 1574 BM

Waresley al. *Warslye* 1592 FF

Almost certainly we should not attach too much weight to the DB form here. There is some evidence for an OE pers. name *Weder* (cf. Skeat on Wetheringsett (Sf) in PN Sf 85), but it is impossible to believe that the *d* could have disappeared so completely or that if it had ever really been in the name the phonological development would have been what it was. The DB form is best regarded as a scribal error, probably due to a misreading of an *æ* in the original returns. In late OE script the *e* of this combination occasionally rises far above the line so that *æ* might by uninterested copyists be read as *ed*. Such a confusion would be made easier by the existence in the neighbouring county of Cambridge of a Hundred-name *Wederlea*, with which the compilers of the Huntingdonshire DB may well have been familiar. If the DB form may be left out of consideration, the name may be regarded as derived from OE *Wæresleage* (v. leah), *Wæ̃r* being a shortened form of one of the numerous OE pers. names in *Wæ̃r-*, found also in Waresley (Wo), which is *Wæresleage* in BCS 362, and has later forms just like those of the Hunts p.n. The same name occurs in Warwick, and in Warsop (Nt).

BULBY HILL

Boleby 1286 *Ass* (p)

As the only evidence for this *by*-name is from a pers. name and, apart from this name, it is very doubtful if there are any *by*-names in Hunts at all, it is probable that the man who is mentioned in the Eyre Roll came from Bulby (L), DB *Bolebi*.

WARESLEY DEAN BROOK (6")

Weresleedene 1306 Abbr

Self-explanatory.

Hail Weston

HAIL WESTON 84 B II

Heilweston 1199 Cur*Helweston* 1209 For*Haileweston, Hayle-* 1219, 1248 FF, 1270 Ass, 1284 FF, 1286 Ass, 1376 Orig*Halewestan* 1247 Cl*Haylweston, Hail-* 1315, 1346 Ipm*Hayle Weston* 1427 BM, 1502 Ipm*Heyleweston* 1534 FF

'West-farm on the Hail river,' but what it was west in relation to, it is impossible to say, unless we take it to be a settlement from Eynesbury-St Neots. For the river-name *v.* p. 7. The river-name is still preserved in Hail Bridge *supra* 265.

BROOK END (Fm) (6")

atte Broke 1286 Ass (p)

Self-explanatory.

RUSHEY FARM

Russho, Rysho 1286 For

'Rush-grown slope' *v.* rysc, hoh. The hoh is a very small one.

Yelling

YELLING 85 B I

G(h)ellinge, Geling 1086 DB*Gellinches* Steph BM*Gillinge, Gyllinge* 1218 FF, 1219 For, 1239 FF, 1316 FA, 1535 VE*Gillinges* 1220 Fees 333, 1228 FF*Gilling, Gyll-* 1235 Cl, 1253 BM, 1278 FF, 1299 BM, 1308 Ipm, 1324 Cl, Ipm, 1325 Cl, 1343, 1361 Ipm, 1428, 1485 FA, 1535 VE*Gillingg* 1276 RH, 1303 FA*Gyllyngs* 1333 FF*Yillyng* 1344, 1385 Cl*Illyng* 1507 FF, 1540 BM

Yellyng 1535 VE

Elyng 1535 VE

Gellyng al. *Yellinge* 1545 BM

Yelling al. *Yeldyng* 1569 FF

Yellinge al. *Gillinge* 1594 FF

Yealding al. *Yealing* 1601 FF

One cannot go further with this name than Ekwall's explanation of it (PN in *-ing* 88) as from an OE *Gellingas* (*v. ingas*) a patronymic plural form, from a name **Giella*, as a parallel to which he quotes the OGer p.n. *Gellingin*.

THE ELEMENTS, APART FROM PERSONAL NAMES, FOUND IN BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDON- SHIRE PLACE-NAMES

This list confines itself for the most part to elements used in the second part of place-names or in uncompounded place-names. Under each element the examples are arranged in three categories, (a) those in which the first element is a significant word and not a pers. name, (b) those in which the first element is a pers. name, (c) those in which the character of the first element is uncertain. Where no statement is made it may be assumed that the examples belong to type (a). Elements which are not dealt with in the *Chief Elements used in English Place-names* are distinguished by an (n) after them.

(a) *Bedfordshire*

- ac (b) Ruxox.
- æcen (n) (a) Eggington.
- beorc Little Barford, *Barkditch*.
- beorg (a) Brogborough.
- beretun Barton-in-the-Clay.
- bræc Brache, Breach.
- broc Ashbrook, Brook End, Brookend Green, Brook Farm (3),
Brookland, Millbrook, The Old Brook, Sharnbrook.
- brom Broom.
- bruere, ME (n) Brewershill (?)
- brycg Stanbridge.
- burh (a) *Aldermanbury*, Kingsbury, Limbury, Medbury, *Sudbury*, Willbury, (b) *Cadbury*, (c) Upbury. See further p. 291.
- burna Bourne End, Husborne Crawley, Melchbourne, Woburn,
Wootton Bourne End.
- byge (n) Beeston.
- camp (b) Hanscombe.
- cealc Chalgrave.
- ceorl Chalton.
- clif (b) Hockliffe.
- clopp (n) Clapham, Clophill.
- cnoll The Knoll.
- conynger, ME (n) Conger Hill.
- cot(e) (a) Calcutt, Caldecote, Cotton End, Eastcotts, Fancott,
Holcot, Lambcourt End, Thorncote, Utcoate, (c) Biscot.
- croft (a) *Woodcroft*, Woodcroft, (b) Francroft.
- cumb (a) Coombe Farm, *Combe Park*, (b) Pascombe.

- dal (a) Dallow (?), Whitsundoles.
denu (a) Dane End, Beeston Dean, Dean, The Dean, Honeydon, Pegsdon, Stodden, Yelden, (b) Ravensden, Colesden, Wilden, (c) Stagsden.
dic *Barkditch*.
dile (n) *Dilwick*.
dun (a) Denel End, The Downs, Eggington, Harrowden, Maulden, Pegsdon, Stondon, Warden, Warden Hill, (b) Battlesden, Billington, Cadington, *Elvedon*, Harlington, *Shirdon*, Shillington, Sundon, Toddington, Wensdon, (c) Roxton.
*dyfel (n) Duloe (?).
ealdormann (n) *Aldermanbury*.
ecg Brownage Wold.
edisc Farndish.
eg (a) Ion, Sandy, Turvey, (b) Arlesey, *Fotsey*, Lewsey.
ende (a) Bourne End, Brook End, East End, Hall End, Lower End, Northend, Upton End, Wick End, Wood End (2), Woodend, Woodend Lane, Woodman End, Wootton Bourne End.
fald Faldo.
feld (a) Cranfield, Fielden, Fielding, Greenfield, Northfield, Westfield, (c) Wingfield.
fleot Flitt, Flitton, Flitwick.
ford (a) Barford (2), Eatonford, Girtford, Langford, Salford, Shefford, Stafford, Stanford, *Stapleford*, Stratford, Tempsford, Trevor, (b) Batt's Ford, Bedford.
fox-hol Foxhole.
fyrhþe Marston Thrift, Salem Thrift.
gorstig Goswell End.
græf (a) Chalgrave (?).
græfe (a) Chalgrave (?).
grāf(a) (a) Blackgrove, Gravenhurst, Grove, Grovebury, Leagrave, Shortgrove, (b) Collins Grove, Potsgrove.
grange, ME (n) The Grange.
grene The Green.
greot Girtford, *Greathamstead* (?).
hæcc (a) Hatch, Hatch Farm, (c) Sheerhatch Wood.
(ge)hæg (a) Astey, Hay Wood (2), Rowney, (b) Dedmansey, Halsey, Limbersey.
hæð Heath.
haga (a) Haynes (?).
ham (a) Clapham, Higham Gobion, Newnham, Studham, (b) Biddenham, Blunham, Bromham, Felmersham, Pavenham.
hamstede (a) *Greathamstead*, (b) Wilshamstead.
hangra (a) Bramingham, Hanger Wood, (c) Moggerhanger, Polehanger.

- har** (n) Herne.
heafod *Manshead*, Swineshead.
healh (b) Meppershall, Pertenhall, (c) Renhold.
hearg Harrowden, Harrowick.
hecg Wardhedges.
heordewic Felmersham Hardwick, Kempston Hardwick, Shefford Hardwick.
hid Hyde.
hlaw (a) *Goldenlow*, Henlow, Wenslow, (b) *Bucklow*, *Wadlow*.
hlose Lowe's Wood.
hoh (a) Dallow, Faldo, The Hoo, Hoo (2), Hoo Farm, Hoo Hill, Houghton Conquest, Houghton Regis, How Wood, *Langnoe*, Luton Hoo, Millow, Northey, Salph End, Sharpenhoe, Staploe, Totternhoe, Whitnoe, Yelnow, (b) Arnoe, Backnoe, Bletsoe, *Bolnoe*, Budna, Cainhoe, Dungee, Hipsey, Keysoe, Putnoe, Segenhoe, Silsoe, Winter (Wood), (c) Catsey, Duloe, Gadsey Brook, Galsey, Kidney, Risinghoe.
holm Holme, The Holmes.
holt Holt, Eversholt.
hris Riseley (?), Risinghoe (?).
hrycg (a) Cowridge, Ramridge.
hunger Hungerhill.
hunig Honeydon.
hyll (a) Ampthill, Brickhill, Clayhill, Clophill, Cockle, Denel End, Galley Hill, Hill Farm (4), Hill Ho, Hill Lane, Hungerhill, Oakley Hill, Odell, (b) Picts Hill, Pulloxhill, Roxhill.
hyrst (a) Gravenhurst, (b) Bolnhurst.
ing(as) (b) Knotting, Wootton Pillinge, (c) Kitchen End, Worthy End (?).
ingaton (a) Seddington, (b) Lidlington.
ingtun (b) Cardington, Goldington, Podington, Stevington, Willington (?).
karla-tun Carlton.
lacu Collick, Fenlake.
lanu Green Lane, Forty Foot Lane.
leac-tun Leighton Buzzard.
leah (a) Appleby, Apsley End, Aspley Guise, Crawley, Crawley Green, Farley, Lee, Leys, Oakley, Priestley, Shenley Hill, Streatley, Thurleigh, Wharley End, *Whyperley*, (b) Chibley, Hatley, Pedley, Puddle Hill, Stopsley, (c) Early Grove, Nares Gladley, Keeley, Riseley, Runley, Steppingley.
mæd (a) Shortmead, Wootton Broadmead, (c) Bushmead.
mægð, mægden (n) Medbury.
mæl Maulden.
mearc (c) Warmark.

- meox Mixeshill.
 mersc Marston.
 mor Birchmore, Moor.
 myln South Mills.
 næss (c) Haynes.
 ofer (b) *Buckleshore*.
 *peac (n) Pegsdon.
 pearroc Park Farm.
 pirige Perryhill.
 pol (b) Cople.
 pott (n) Potton.
 *rǣc (n) Reach.
 rið Tingrith.
 riðig (b) Efferiddy.
 sand (b) Chicksands.
 scearp Sharpenhoe.
 scylf Shelton (2).
 sealh Salph End, Salford.
 sele The Hasells.
 sloh (n) The Slough, Slough Wood.
 snæd (b) Whipsnade.
 stapol (a) *Stapleford*, Staploe, (c) Dunstable.
 stoc (a) Stoke Mill, (b) Redbornstoke (?).
 stocc (a) Staughton, (b) Redbornstoke (?).
 stodfald Stotfold.
 stow (c) Elstow.
 stræt Stratford, Stratton, Streatley, Warden Street.
 sul(h) (n) Souldrop.
 swan Santon.
 peod-weg Ede Way.
 þing Tingrith.
 þorn Thorn, Thickthorn.
 þorp Souldrop, Thrup End.
 þyrne (b) Chawston.
 topt The Toft.
 *tot-ærn (n) Totternhoe.
 tree (b) *Wixamtree*.
 *treowiht (n) Trevor.
 tun (a) Beeston, Campton, Chalton (2), Clifton, Dunton, East End, Eaton Bray, Eaton Socon, Etonbury, Everton, Houghton Conquest, Houghton Regis, Kempston, Leighton Buzzard, Luton, Marston M., Milton (2), Newton, Potton, Santon, Shelton (2), Staughton, Stratton, Sutton, Westoning, Wootton, (b) Chellington, Clipstone, Wyboston, Wymington.
 turf (n) Turvey.

- wæd** Biggleswade.
weald Harrold, Wold.
weard Wardhedges, Warden, Warden Hill.
wearg Warmark (?).
weg Frenchmans Way, Mixeshill, Wickey.
welig Willbury, *Willey*, Willington (?).
whippeltre ME, *Whyperley*.
wic (a) Astwick, *Dilwick*, Flitwick, Harrowick, Hinwick, *Holliwick*, Wick End, Wickey, (b) Goodwick, *Kinwick*, (c) Tilwick.
wielle (a) Cauldwell, Chadwell End, Holwellbury, Ladywell, Radwell, (b) Bidwell, *Cogswell*, *Feaks Well*, Ickwell, Kimberwell, Sewell.
wince Wingfield (?).
worþ (a) Eyworth, (b) Barwythe, Colmworth, Colworth, Edworth, Kensworth, Tebworth, Tilsworth, Wrestlingworth.
***wræst** (n) Wrest.
wrong (n), ME Gorerong.
wudu (a) Hay Wood, *Hazel Wood*, King's Wood, Lowe's Wood, Northwood, *North Wood*.

(b) *Huntingdonshire*

- bæc, bece** Ashbeach, Chalderbeach.
bearu *Barrow*.
beorc Brick Mere.
beorg (a) Weybridge, Barham, (c) Lattenbury.
bigging Biggin.
broc (a) Brook End, (b) Billing Brook, Tilbrook, (c) Conington Brook, Hinchingsbrooke.
brycg (a) Farcet Bridge, Hail Bridge, (b) Botolph Bridge.
burh (a) Bury, Littlebury, (b) Alconbury, Eynesbury, Lansbury Farm.
burna Morborne.
busc (n) (b) Warboys.
byge (n) (c) Milby.
ceaster (b) Godmanchester.
cot(e) Caldecote (3), *Caldecote* (2), Coton Barn, Cotton, Leycourt, Ugmere Court.
cros (b) Normancross.
dæl Humbrel's, Ruddles Lane (?).
(ge)delf King's Delph.
denu (a) Waresley Dean, (b) Agden, Buckden, Gransden.
dic (b) Wornditch.
dierne *Dernford*.
dræg *Draymere*.

- dun (b) Haddon, Huntingdon.
 ea Wray.
 ear (n) Earith.
 eg (a) Goldiford, Northey, Rowey, Woolvey (?), (b) Bodsey,
 Higney, Ramsey, (c) Horsey Hill.
 ende Over End.
 fæled (n) *Falt*.
 fearr Farcet.
 fenn Farcet Fen, New Fen, Stocking Fen, West Fen.
 fleot Fletton.
 ford (a) Coppingford, *Dernford*, *Goldiford*, Hartford, Offord,
 Wansford, (b) Hemingford.
 gata Stangate Hill.
 geac (n) Yaxley.
 glæd (n) Glatton.
 golde(n) *Goldiford*, Goldpit (?).
 graf Grafham.
 grafa (a) Old Weston Grove, Stow Grove, (b) *Hepmangrove*,
 Rooks Grove.
 grene The Green (2), Green End (2), Green Farm.
 grund Stanground.
 (ge)hæg (a) Harthay, Woolvey (?), (b) Dudney, *Edwoldeshey*,
 Gamsey, *Suershay*.
 ham (a) Barham, Grafham, (b) Bluntisham, Wintringham,
 (c) Somersham.
 hamstede (a) *Beachampstead*.
 heafod (a) Farcet.
 healh (a) Parkhall.
 heordewic Hardwick, Hardwicke, Hardwicks, Eynesbury Hard-
 wicke, Monks Hardwick.
 here Hartford.
 hind *Hind Lake*.
 hlaw Stirtloe.
 hoh (a) Calpher, The How, Midloe, Rushey, Southoe, Ward
 Mound, (b) *Baldewynho*, *Mulsoe*, *Ravenshoe*.
 holm Bromholme, Holme, Port Holme.
 holt *Rawerholt*.
 hragra (n) *Rawerholt*.
 hungor Hungry Hall Cottages.
 hyll Hill Farm, Houghton Hill, Pidley Hill.
 hyrne The Herne.
 hyrst Old Hurst, Woodhurst.
 hyð Earith.
 ing Lymage.
 ingas (b) Gidding, Yelling.

- ingtun Alwalton, Brington, Conington (?), Covington, Diddington, Dillington, Ellington, Elton, Stibbington, Wennington.
 kaupmaðr Coppingford.
 lacu *Hind Lake*, Lake Brook.
 (ge)lad (a) Crollode, Fenton Lode, Yaxley Lode, Monks' Lode, (b) Hook's Lode.
 land Kingsland, Redland.
 leactun Leighton Bromswold.
 leah (a) *Ockley*, Prestley, Sapley, Stonely, Stukeley, Woolley, Yaxley, (b) Abbotsley, Aversley, Pidley, Poplar, Waresley, (c) Raveley, Washingley.
 lundr (a) Holland, (b) Toseland.
 mere (a) Brick Mere, *Draymere*, Ramsey Mere, Trundle Mere, (b) Ugg Mere, Whittlesey Mere.
 mor Middle Moor, Staughton Moor.
 næss Outerness.
 ofer Orton.
 ord *Sword Point*.
 pearroc Parkhall, Paxton (?).
 pirige East Perry, West Perry.
 pol *Wallpool*.
 port Port Holme.
 *ripp (n) Ripton.
 rið (a) Sawtry, (b) Meagre.
 sæppe Sapley.
 scealfor (n) Chalderbeach.
 sealh Salome Wood.
 sealtre (n) Sawtry.
 slæd Dipslade.
 slæp Slepe.
 stan (a) Hurstingstone, Leightonstone, (b) *Ogerston*, Keyston.
 steort Stirtloe.
 stigel Stilton.
 stocking Stocking Fen.
 stow Long Stow, Wistow.
 strod Stroud Hill.
 styfic Stukeley.
 sweora *Sword Point*.
 þorn Thorn.
 þorp (a) Upthorpe, (b) *Sibthorpe*.
 þyrne (a) Bythorn.
 trendel (n) Trundle Mere.
 tun (a) Brampton, Broughton, Chesterton, Denton, Easton, Fenton, Fletton, Glatton, Hilton, Houghton, Leighton, Water Newton, Newtown, Orton, Ripton, Stanton, Staughton,

- Stilton, Upton, Walton, Weston (3), *Woodhoughton*, Wyton,
 (b) Boughton, Kimbolton, Sibson, (c) Conington, Hamerton,
 Paxton, Woodstone, Wyton.
 (ge)wæsc (a) Washingley (?), (b) *Arnewas*.
 weald (a) Weald, Weybridge, Old Hurst, Old Weston, (b)
 Bromswold.
 weard Ward Mound.
 weg Broadway.
 wic (a) Wigan, Wistow, (b) *Brightamwick*, Winwick, (c) Spald-
 wick, Worlick.
 wielle Broadall's (?), Holywell, *Wallpool*.
 wielm (n) Wansford.
 worp (b) *Blasworth*, Buckworth, Catworth, Folksworth, Moles-
 worth, Needingworth, Tetworth.
 wudu Monks' Wood, Upwood, Wistow Wood.

NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THESE ELEMENTS

A few notes upon the distribution of certain p.n. elements may be given, but as the comparative material for other counties is not (except in one or two cases) complete as yet, the remarks can to some extent be only tentative.

botl. In passing east from Bucks and Northants we have passed right away from the use of this element. No example has been noted in either county.

burh. *Bury* in the manorial sense is rare in Hunts but is fairly common in Beds where it tends to take the place of the type of manorial name with final possessive *s* which is so common in Ess, Herts and Bucks. The contrast is that between *Grimsbury* and *Gastlings*.

burna as the name of a small stream is a good deal less frequent than *broc* in these counties.

camp. Beds can now be added to the list of counties in EPN 14 (*s.v.*) in which this element is found.

cot(e). Intensive study of these counties puts them along with Berks and Northants as counties in which there is a high proportion of such names. In Hunts this is due especially to the frequency of the name *Caldecote*.

ende. The great frequency of the word 'End' is a marked feature of Beds nomenclature on the modern map, and early forms enable us to carry back this way of denoting the outlying districts in a parish to the 13th cent.

grene. It may be noted that the substantival use of *Green*

can, on the Beds and Hunts evidence, be carried back to the 13th cent., much earlier than is suggested in EPN or in the NED.

ham. In Beds Newnham, Biddenham, Bromham, Clapham, Pavenham, Felmersham are on the Ouse, Blunham on the Ivel, while Studham and Higham Gobion are on high ground away from any river. In Hunts Bluntisham is on the Ouse, but the other *-hams* are not on streams of any importance. All except Newnham (Beds) and Wintringham (Hu) are recorded in DB.

hamstede. That places which had names ending in this element were not of great importance is indicated by the fact that both of the places with it have been lost in Hunts and one in Beds, while two out of three were lost in Bucks.

hamtun. Of this suffix, of which one example was found in Bucks, no trace has been found in Beds or Hunts.

healh is almost unknown in Hunts and very rare in Beds.

heordewic is specially common in these counties, **berewic** is unknown.

hoh. Beds is distinctively the county in which this suffix is most common. Though it is considerably smaller in area than Bucks, nearly four times as many examples have been noted, while Hunts, which is half the size of Bucks, has just as many examples of this suffix as that county. In the frequent use of this element Beds and, to a less extent, Hunts go along with Northants. It is difficult on grounds of topographical difference to suggest why this element should be thus frequent in these areas.

ing and **ingas** are not common and it is noteworthy in Beds (except for Knotting) to what tiny places the names refer. Knotting, Gidding and Yelling are alone recorded in DB.

ingaham. Wintringham (Hu) is the only example in the two counties.

ingtun. There is a group of these names—Cardington, Goldington, Stevington and Willington—just to the east of Bedford itself. The only other example in the county is Podington in the north-west. In Hunts the distribution is not so clearly marked. Alwalton, Elton and Stibbington are on the Nen, Brington and Ellington on a tributary of Alconbury Brook. The others are Diddington, Dillington and Wennington. There are two examples of *ingatun*, Seddington on the Ivel and Lidlington on high ground near Ampthill. All except Seddington (Beds) and Wennington (Hu) are on record in DB.

leah is fairly common in Beds, almost as common as in Bucks. It is quite common in certain areas of Hunts, but naturally is rare in the fen-districts.

mor. It is noteworthy how few examples of this suffix there are in either county.

stoc. We are practically out of the *stoke*-area in these counties.

porp is very rare in both counties. In Beds it is certainly of English origin and probably is so in Hunts, though we cannot be sure.

tun. The proportion of names with this element is much the same as in the counties bordering on them. Apart from the names in *ingtun* it is noteworthy how few of the place-names in *tun* are compounded with a pers. name—only five out of thirty-two in Hunts and four out of thirty-one in Beds.

worp. In the frequency of this suffix Beds and Hunts differ markedly from Northants, still more so from Bucks. They agree closely on the other hand with Cambs and Herts. In all cases except one it is compounded with a pers. name. All except Barwythe and Colworth (Beds) and Needingworth and Tetworth (Hunts) are on record by the date of DB.

PERSONAL-NAMES COMPOUNDED IN BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE PLACE-NAMES

Names not found in independent use are marked with a single asterisk if their existence can be inferred from evidence other than that of the particular p.n. in question. Such names may be regarded as hardly less certain than those which have no asterisk. Those for which no such evidence can be found are marked with a double star.

(a) *Bedfordshire*

Ælf(a)	<i>Elvedon</i>
Ælfrēd	Efferiddy
Ælfric	Arlesey
Ælfsige	Halsey
**Ælne, **Ællen	Elstow (?)
Bacca	Backnoe
*Badel	Battlesden
Bæra, Bære	Barwythe
Bassa	Basmead
Bēda	Bedford
*Biccel	Biggleswade
Billa	Billington
Biscop	Biscot (?)

*Blæcc(a)	Bletsoe
**Bluwa	Blunham
Bola, Bolla	Bolnhurst, <i>Bolnoe</i>
Brūna	Bromham
Bucca	<i>Bucklow</i>
*Buccel	<i>Buckleshore</i>
Bud(d)a	Budna
Byda	Biddenham, Bidwell
Cada	<i>Cadbury</i> , Caddington
*Cæg(a)	Keysoe, Cainhoe
*Cærda	Cardington (?)
*Cealf	Chawston
Cēn	Kensworth
Cēnrēd	Cardington (?)
Ceobba	Chibley
Cēolwynn (f)	Chellington
*Cicca	Chicksands
*Cnotta	Knotting
*Cocc(a)	Cogswell (?), Cople (?)
*Cogga	Cople (?)
*Col	Colesden
Cola	Colworth
*Cuca	Kitchen (?)
*Culma	Colmworth
Cyneburh (f)	Kimberwell
Cynemund	<i>Kinwick</i>
*Cȳta	Kidney (?)
Deule (ME)	Duloe (?)
Dudewine	Dedmansey
Ealda	Arnoe
Earna	Early Grove (?)
Ed(d)a	Edworth
Eopp(a)	Hipsev
*Fæcc	Feaks Well
Feolumæ̃r, Fealamæ̃r	Felmersham
**Fōt	<i>Fotsey</i>
Fráni (ON)	Francroft
**Gāl	Galsey (?)
*Gicca	Ickwell
*Glæda	Gladley (?)
*God	Gadsey Brook (?)

Gōdgifu (f)	Goodwick
Golda	Goldington
**Hætta	Hatley
Hagena	Haynes (?)
*Hān	Hanscombe
Herela	Harlington
Hocga	Hockliffe
Hræfn	Ravensden
Hrani (ON)	Renhold (?)
Hrōc	Roxton
*Hutta	Upbury (?)
Klyppr (ON)	Clipstone
Lēof	Lewsey
*Lihtla	Leagrave (?)
Līnbeald, Lindbeald	Limbersey
Madalperht (OHG)	Meppersall
*Papa	Pavenham
Passa	Pascombe
*Pearta	Pertenhall
*Peol, *Piol	Pillinge
Pic(el)	Picts Hill
*Polla, Pulla	Polehanger (?)
*Pott	Potsgrove
Puda	Puddle Hill
**Pudda, Poda	Podington
*Pulloc	Pulloxhill
Putta	Putnoe
Pydda	Pedley
Rædburh (f)	<i>Redburnstoke</i>
*Rīsa	Riseley (?), Risinghoe (?)
Scīr(a)	<i>Shirdon</i>
*Scyttel	Shitlington
Secga	Segenhoe
*Seofa	Sewell
*Sifel	Silsoe
Stakkr (ON)	Stagsden (?)
Stēapa	Steppingley (?)
*Stopp	Stopsley
*Styfa	Stevington
*Sunna	Sundon

**Teobba	Tebworth
*Þýfel	Tilsworth
Tudda	Toddington
Wada	<i>Wadlow</i>
*Wændel	Wensdon
*Wæra	Warmark (?)
*Wibba	Whipsnade
Widmund	Wymington
Wigbeald	Wyboston
Wihstan	<i>Wixamtree</i>
Wil(l)(a)	Wilshamstead, Wilden, Wil-
Wint(a)	Wingfield (?) lington (?)
Wintra	Winter Wood
*Wræstel	Wrestlingworth
*Wrocc	Roxhill

(b) *Huntingdonshire*

Acca	Agden
Æpel	Elton
Æpelbeorht	Aversley
Æpelweald	Alwalton
Bealdwine	<i>Baldewynho</i>
Bicca	<i>Beachampstead</i>
Billa	Billing Brook
**Blæge	<i>Blasworth</i> (?)
*Blunt	Bluntisham
Bōtwulf	Botolph Bridge
Brūn	Bromswold
Brȳni	Brington
Bucc	Buckworth
Bucge (f)	Buckden
Buga	Boughton
Byrthelm	<i>Brightamwick</i>
*Catt	Catworth
Cofa	Covington
Cun(n)a	Conington (?)
Cynebeald	Kimbolton
Duda	Dudney
Dudda	Diddington
*Dylla	Dillington

Ēadweald	<i>Edwoldeshey</i>
Ealdbeald	Abbotsley
Ealhmund	Alconbury
Ēanwulf	Eynesbury
*Earna	<i>Arnewas</i>
Eli	Ellington
Folc	Folksworth
Garbod (OGer)	Gamsey (?)
*Gārmōd	Gamsey (?)
**Giella	Yelling
Godmund	Godmanchester (?)
*Grant(a)	Gransden
Gūðmund	Godmanchester (?)
*Gyd(e)la	Gidding
Hædda	Haddon
*Hæðmund	<i>Hepmangrove</i> (?)
Hēahmund	<i>Hepmangrove</i> (?)
Hemma, Hemmi	Hemingford
*Hnydda	Needingworth
Hōc	Hook's Lode
Hræfn (OE), Hrafn (ON)	Ramsey, <i>Ravenshoe</i>
Hrōc	Rooks Grove
Hunta	Huntingdon
*Hycga	Higney
*Hyncel	Hinchingbrooke
Ketill (ON)	Keyston
Klakkr (ON)	Clack Barn
Mæðelgār	Meagre
Mūl	Molesworth, <i>Mulsoe</i>
Ordgār	<i>Ogerston</i>
*Perruc	Paxton (?)
**Poppa	Poplar (?)
Pyd(d)a	Pidley
Sibba (OE), Sibbi (OE, ON)	Sibson, <i>Sibthorpe</i>
Sigeward	<i>Suershay</i>
*Stybba	Stibbington
**Sumor	Somersham (?)
*Sunmār	Somersham (?)

*Tetta	Tetworth
Til(l)a	Tilbrook
Toglos, Tóli (OScand)	Toseland
Ubba	Ugg Mere
*Wær	Waresley
*Wassa	Washingley (?)
Wearda	Warboys
*Wenna	Wennington
Wina	Winwick
Wintra	Wintringham
Witel	Whittlesey Mere
**Wud	Woodstone
Wurma, *Wyrma	Wornditch (?)

FEUDAL NAMES

(a) *Bedfordshire*. Aspley Guise, Eaton Bray, Cockayne Hatley, Higham Gobion, Houghton Conquest, Houghton Regis, Leighton Buzzard (?), Marston Moretaine, Milton Bryant, Milton Ernest, Westoning.

(b) *Huntingdonshire*. Abbot's and King's Ripton, Orton Longueville and Waterville, Offord Cluny and Darcy, Sawtry St Judith.

MANORIAL NAMES

(a) *Bedfordshire*.

(i) *bury*-names: Arlesey and Aspley Bury, Etonbury, Grimsbury, Grovebury, Holwellbury, Howbury (?), Mossbury, Mowsbury.

(ii) *Possessive*-forms: Bowels Wood, Beckerings Park, Corbets-hill, The Creakers, Fernels Wood, Gastlings, Redding's Wood, Scroup's Farm, Someries, Thralesend, Traylesfields, Wake's End, White's Wood, Zouche's Farm.

(iii) Forms without the possessive *s*: Birchfield, Daintry and Exeter Wood, Ducksworth, Middlesex Farm, Pippin and Temple Wood.

(b) *Huntingdonshire*.

(i) *bury*-names: Lansbury.

(ii) *Possessive*-forms: Bevill's Wood, Gaynes Hall, Moynes Hall.

(iii) Forms without the possessive *s*: Daintree Farm, Bulby Hill.

(iv) Pseudo-manorial: Humbrel's Farm.

FIELD AND OTHER MINOR NAMES

In collecting material for the interpretation of the place-names (i.e. those found on the O.S. maps) a good deal of material has been gathered in the form of field and other minor names, especially those of boundary marks. It is impossible to deal with these exhaustively, first because they are too numerous, and secondly because many of them are without much interest, consisting largely of forms which are common in all field-names; further, it is but rarely that one has a succession of forms in an individual name such as is usually necessary if any satisfactory interpretation is to be attempted. A selection alone can be attempted. Unfortunately also the material is not at all evenly distributed. Manors belonging to Dunstable and Newnham in Beds can be studied in great detail and so also can the Ramsey manors in Hunts and Beds, not only in the Ramsey Cartulary but also in the extensive series of early Court Rolls which have survived. Other manors are much less well represented in early documents and for a good many of them no material at all has been discovered.

An analysis of these elements, with illustrations of their use, follows. Those elements that have already been fully illustrated in the true place-names are for the most part left unnoticed.

æcer is very common in both counties. Such a name as *Horsacre* (2) suggests that it was not always used of arable land. Among other compounds we may note *Stubbedhalfacre* (1371), *Goldenehalfaker* (13th).

OFr *anglet* (n), 'little angle,' is found in *les Anglettes* (1219), *les Aungletes* (1307) in Weybridge Forest.

ME *balke* is common, as in *Rowebalk* (1254) in Sharnbrook. It is used of a ridge of turf between two cultivated strips.

banke is found occasionally in Hunts, never in Beds.

bekkr. One example has been noted in Clophill (Beds), *Walebek* (1273), and one in Eynesbury (Hu), *Holebek* (1279).

bigging. *Neubigging* by Tempsford (1329).

ME *brade* is fairly common in Beds, as in *Le Redebrade* (1406) in Houghton Regis, *le Prestysbrade* (1426) in Holme, *Stratebrade* (c. 1330) in Stondon, *Russebrade*, *Merebrade*, *le Goresbrade* in Haynes (1309). It presumably describes a particularly

broad cultivated strip. Seeing that it can appear as late as 1607 as *the Brade* in Gravenhurst, it must go back to OE *brædu*, 'breadth,' rather than the adj. *brad*. That on the other hand must lie behind *le Brode* (1392) in Kempston. v. Addenda.

bræc, *brec* in the form *brache* or *breche* is common in Beds and Hunts.

broc is very common both in Beds and Hunts, e.g. *Buterwellebroc* (1225), *Maniwellesbroc* (1252).

ME *broile*, a French word, ultimately of Teutonic origin, and frequently found in old hunting districts, is found once in Weybridge Forest (1219), cf. *Broyle* (Sx). It was used of 'a park,' 'a warren stored with deer.'

burna is used but rarely in either county as a stream-name element.

ME *butte* is common and is used of a short strip or set of short strips, of uncertain length, ploughed in the angle where two furlongs meet at right angles.

camp is occasionally found, but only one example has been noted in Hunts.

ceart seems once to be found as *Churt* in Cardington (13th cent.).

croft is exceedingly common in both counties. It is often compounded with the owner or holder's name. At other times the first element indicates the crop as in *Riecroft*, *Lincroft*, *Garscroft*, *Watercroft* (from *hwæte*), *Benecroft*, *Haycroft*, *Madecroft* (from *mæd*), *Henecroft* (OE *henep*, 'hemp'), *Barlycroft*, or the animals belonging to it as in *Calvescroft*, *Piggescroft*, *Fesauntescroft*, or the soil, as in *Grenecroft*, *Smethecroft*, *Stonecroft*. *Caumpecroft*, which must contain *camp*, is interesting. It apparently denotes a croft, or enclosure, occurring within a stretch of open field.

cumb has been noted thrice in Beds.

dæl has been noted in a few names in *-dale* in both counties.

dal is fairly common as *dole* in Beds and very common in Hunts. *Cotmannedole* in Sharnbrook (13th) is worthy of note as containing OE *cotmanna* (gen. pl.), 'cottagers.'

dam in *Pideledam* (1280) and *farwelledam* (1301) can thus be carried back farther than in the NED.

dell is occasionally found in Beds, as in *Rutheresdelle* (13th), *Brixisdelle* (1225).

denu is common in both counties.

draf, ME *drove*, is found in Hunts, as in *le Overdrove* in Brampton (c. 1307). It is still used in the fens for a road along which cattle are driven, and for a water-way.

feld is clearly used, at least until the 14th cent., entirely of open unenclosed country, for it is nearly always compounded with *North*, *South*, *East* or *West* or with *New* or *Middle*. It is not until the 14th cent. that we get it compounded with a pers. name as in *Ylgerisfeld* (1326).

ME *ferye*. *Blauncheferye* in Fletton in 1279 seems to refer to a white 'ferry' of some kind across the Nen and to carry that word back some 150 years earlier than it is recorded in the NED.

gara is very common in field-names.

(ge)hæg, ME *heye*, is very common in old woodland or forest areas.

haga is rare. In Hunts it may be the ON *hagi*.

ham is occasionally found in both counties but is never compounded with a pers. name, e.g. *Brocham*, *Foxham*, *Stonyham*, *Hecham*, *Bradenham*.

hamm has been noted three times in Beds and once in Hunts.

hamstede is found in *Chalfhamstede* in Eaton Socon (1359).

OE *heolstor* (n), 'darkness, hiding-place, retreat,' is found as the first element in *Hulsterdene* (1387, Cl), *Husterdoun hole* (1602, BHRS viii. 57) in Northill. *v.* Addenda.

hlaða seems to be found once in Hunts in *Kaldemowelath* (1351).

hline is found in both counties.

holmr, ME *holme*, is fairly common in both counties but specially so in Hunts.

horn is occasionally found in both counties.

hrycg is very rare in both counties.

hryding has been noted in a few cases in Beds.

hulc, 'hut, hovel,' is found in two examples of *Hulkestede* in Hunts, and in *Hulkeyerd* (1294) in the same county.

ME *hulloke* in *le Hullokes* (1309) in Haynes carries the word *hillock* back nearly a century earlier than in the NED.

hyll rather than *hlaw* is the common word for 'hill' in both counties. We have early examples of *Hungerhills* in Flitwick and Biggleswade in Beds and Ellington in Hunts.

læs is occasionally found in Beds, very rarely in Hunts. It is compounded with *Ox*, *Horse*, *Cow* and *Summer*.

land is one of the commonest elements in field-names in both counties. The first element may describe (a) the shape of the 'land' or strip, e.g. *Wowelond*, *Wrongelond*, 'crooked, twisted,' *Holewelond*, *Longelonde*, *Schortelond*, *Endleslondes*, *Thortelond*, probably 'thwart-land,' (b) what grows on it, e.g. *Henepland*, 'hemp-land,' *Linland*, 'flaxland,' *Peselond*, *Barlilond*, *Watelond*, 'wheat-land,' *Berelande*, 'barley-land,' *Benelond*, *Ruschelond*, *Bexlond*, 'box-land,' *Flexland*, *Rielond*, *Thornyland*, *Brereslond*, (c) the condition of the soil or the slope of the ground, e.g. *Blakmoldiland*, *Stonilond*, *Rouland*, 'rough land,' *Strodland*, 'marshy land,' *Hangindelond*, *Gorilond*, 'muddy land,' *Eredlond*, 'ploughed land,' *Morland*, 'swampy land,' *Hangrelonde*, *Waterlond*, (d) the occupier or lack of such (pers. names are comparatively rare), e.g. *Nomanneslond*, *Almuslond*, 'alms-land,' *Chircheslond*, *Shereveslond*, *Pottereslond*, *Akermanlond*, *Hydemanneland*, *Fremanneslond*.

mæd is very common in both counties.

pi(g)htel is occasionally found in both counties.

plot (n) is twice found in Hunts, the names being *Inlandeplottes* (1252) and *Madplot* (1300) from *mæd*.

pytt. We have references to *Lampittes*, from which 'loam' must have been taken, *Chiselpit*, 'gravel pit,' *Sandputtes*, *Turpettes*, probably 'turf-pits,' and to more than one *Wolfpit*, presumably snares for these animals, e.g. *Wlpetes* in Dillington (1248).

rand is very rare, the only example that has been noted is *Lullesfordehiderande* in Beeston (Hy 3).

riðig is very common in bounds, etc. in the form *ridye*, *riddy*, etc., but hardly ever survives.

rod first appears in Hunts, some five examples having been noted.

sceat, later *shot*, so common in field-names in other parts of the country, has only been noted once, in Hunts.

seað has been noted in Beds, in Stagsden, Toddington and Whipsnade.

sic has been noted once in Beds as *Bradesike* (1302) and once in Hunts (1227) as *Stonhyll Syke*.

slæd is fairly common in both counties. Among the compounds are *Maydenslade*, *Watereslade*, *Chalkesslade*, *Russeslade*, *Depeslade*, *Welleslade*, *Hayslade*, *Groveslade*.

**snoc* (n). This rare p.n. element, discussed in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, iv. 67, is found in 1279 in *Ravelesnok* in Wood Walton, aptly describing the sharp point or *snook* made by the boundary of the two parishes in question just north of Lodge Farm.

stede. This element, apart from its use in *hamstede*, does not seem to occur in Beds field-names but is found several times in Hunts where it seems specially to refer to the actual site of some buildings, what in Scotland would be called a *steading*. Thus we have two examples of *Cotestede* (v. *cote*), a *Tunstede*, and two examples of *Hulkestede* from OE *hulc*, 'hovel.' There are also compounds *Gangsted*, *Spychsted*, whose meaning is less clear, and a *Ryngstede*, meaning presumably 'circular site.'

stocking is fairly common in both counties.

stræt is fairly common for roads or tracks which certainly can never have been Roman roads of any kind. We have a *Leuestrete* in Dunstable, a *Bradestrete* in Henlow, a *Heystrate* in Northill, *Wrestlingworth*, Old Weston, *Bothildestrate* in Ravensden, *Northamestrate* in Ridgmont, *Smalstrate* in Sharnbrook, *Cutbedestrete* in Totternhoe, *Brunestrete* in Haynes, *Haringstrate* in Stilton. Is this last a road along which *herrings* were brought and is it a name for Ermine Street at this point?

stycce first appears in Hunts, where some seven examples in the form *steche*, *stych* have been noted, e.g. *Horstych*, *le horne-destiche*, *Silkenestych*.

topt, *toft* is only found twice in field-names in Beds (in Sharnbrook and Stotfold), but has been noted in Elton, Grafham, Houghton and Warboys, compounded in one case with the Anglo-Scandinavian pers. name *Osebern*.

vangr. This Scand. element first appears in Hunts, except for one example in Beds in Sharnbrook, and is fairly common in the form *wang* or (more commonly) *wong*.

vrá is found once in *le Wro* in Milton Bryant (1247).

weg is the common term for a track, and we have reference to (a) the surface in *Clayweye*, *Grenewe*, *Stanywey*, *Stratweye*, (b) its users or whither it led in *Kilneweye*, *Fenwey*, *Chyrchewe*, *Portwey*, *Woldweye*, *Milneweye*, *Fordewe*, *Colyereswey*, *Chapelweie*, *Carteriswey*, *Wudewe*, *Thefwey*, *Lordesway*, *Dossereswey*, i.e. apparently one used by animals carrying a pack or panier, (c) the general character of the road in *Holewey*, *Biggewey*, *Riggewe*, (d) what was carried along it in *Flexwey*, *Riscweg*, (e) its being on a boundary in *Mareweye*. v. Addenda.

wic is fairly common in both counties. Only very rarely is it compounded with a pers. name.

wudu. *Loswude* in Warden (Hy 2) is an interesting compound with *hlose*.

Among miscellaneous names we may note *Chrystetrewesdole* (13th), which must have taken its name from a 'Christ-tree' or crucifix, and a solitary *Hauenebyryelis* (sic) in Hemingford in 1300, a relic of some old heathen Anglian cemetery. There are two examples of the enigmatic *Kattesbreyn* noted in PN Bk 127 (both in Beds but on opposite sides of the county). We have a somewhat Biblical *Seuenebrethren* in 1217 in Wyton, a *Marchileslane* in Cranfield in 1300, evidently a lane leading to the practising ground for archery, *marchils* coming from OE *miercels*, 'mark to shoot at.' Other names are *Doggetail* (13th), *Penybarecoles* (1584), *Undep Lane* (13th), *Wilderwash* (1607), clearly a low-lying meadow where the 'wilder' or wild animals watered, *Gosebath* (13th). In *Thrumlonge* and *Ouerethrum* we seem to have an adaptation of *thrum*, 'piece of waste thread or yarn,' including the unwoven ends of the warp. We also have three independent field-names—*le Snape* (1301), *le heegh Snappe* (1331) and *Little Snap* (1227)—which may be the ME *snappe*, discussed by Ekwall (PN La 17), a Scandinavian loan-word of uncertain origin and meaning, but the form with double *p* may be of different origin and be derived from a different stem. If it is related to the verb *snap*, 16th cent. *snappe*, and means 'small piece, fragment,' the history of that word is carried back much farther than the references in the NED would suggest.

PERSONAL-NAMES IN FIELD AND OTHER MINOR NAMES

(a) Old English

Ælfgyð	<i>Aluithebrigg</i> (1202)
Ælfnōð	<i>Alnothescroft</i> (1217)
Ælfrēd	<i>Alfredeswelle</i> , <i>crucem Aluredi</i> (13th)
Ælfstān	<i>Alstoneslake</i> (1279)
Ælfweald	<i>Alfwoldesmede</i> , <i>Alfwoldeswey</i> (13th)
Æðelbeorht	<i>Aybrichesdaie</i> (1252), <i>Aylbriktest</i> (1248)
Æðelflæd (f)	<i>Alfledestoft</i> (13th)
Æðelgifu (f)	<i>Ailivemade</i> (1252)
Æðelmær	<i>Ailmaresheie</i> (13th), <i>Aylmerewik</i> (1320), <i>Almeresgore</i> (1295)

Æðelnōð	<i>Elnothescroft</i> (13th)
Æðelwig	<i>Alewieshou</i> , <i>Aylwyslad</i> (13th)
Æðelwine	<i>Alwineshei</i> , <i>Alwynescroft</i> (13th), <i>Alwynes- leye</i> , <i>Ayllenecroft</i> (1252)
Bacca	<i>Bakenhey</i> (1202)
Bacga	<i>Bagenhale</i> (1252)
Bada	<i>Badewrth</i> (13th)
*Badela	<i>Badeligford</i> (1248)
Bassa	<i>Basselawe</i> (1240), <i>Bassecroft</i> (1251)
Beaggeat	<i>Beiattelawe</i> (1217)
*Bearda	<i>Berdestapel</i> (1260), <i>Berdeley</i> (1313)
Beorhtsige	<i>Brixwyk</i> (1351), <i>Brixisdelle</i> (1225)
Beorhtstān	<i>Bricstaneswille</i> (c. 1350)
Beornheard	<i>Bernardescroft</i> (1252), <i>Bernardesholm</i> (1300)
Beornwine	<i>Berewynesdene</i> (13th)
*Bibb(a)	<i>Bybeswell</i> (1318)
Blæcman	<i>Blecchemaneshul</i> (13th)
*Boden	<i>Bodenesdych</i> (1300)
Bosa	<i>Bosemere</i> (13th)
Bōthild (f)	<i>Bothildestrete</i> (13th)
Botta	<i>Bottenhale</i> (1307)
**Brant	<i>Branteswyrð</i> (937), <i>Brantesdone</i> (1251)
Brūn	<i>Brunescroft</i> (13th)
Cēolhelm	<i>Chelmescote</i> (1227)
*Col	<i>Colesac</i> (13th)
*Dægel	<i>Deilesford</i> (Hy 3)
Denegȳð (f)	<i>Denegidegraf</i> (10th)
*Dēorling	<i>Derlingeshauedlond</i> (1300)
**Dinni (?)	<i>Dinneshangra</i> (937)
Dodd	<i>Doddesworthe</i> (c. 1350)
Dodda, Dudda	<i>Doddelowe</i> (1351)
Dudemann	<i>Dudemannesmere</i> (1252)
Dynne	<i>Dinneshangra</i> (10th)
Ēadburh (f)	<i>Adburnewell</i> (1286)
Ēadgifu (f)	<i>Edgyuecroft</i> (13th)
Ēadmær	<i>Admereshey</i> (1254)
Ēadrīc	<i>Edricheslenge</i> (1252)
Ēadweald	<i>Edwoldeshowe</i> (1276)
Ēadwine	<i>Edwinesmede</i> (1279), <i>Edwinescroft</i> (13th)
Ealdmōd	<i>Eldemodescroft</i> (1259)
Ealdrēd	<i>Haldredesbuttes</i> (13th)
Ealdrīc	<i>Aldricheshgge</i> (13th)
Ealdwine	<i>Ealdwining baruue</i> (11th)
Ealhfrīð	<i>Ealferðeshlæw</i> (937)
Godric	<i>Godricheshulle</i> (13th)

Godwīg	<i>Godewystockynham</i> (13th)
Gūðmund	<i>Guthmundescrochet</i> (13th)
Hæddi	<i>Haddeswurth</i> (1262)
Hagen(a)	<i>Hagenescroft</i> (13th)
Hicci	<i>Hykkesfeld</i> (1351)
Hild	<i>Hildismer</i> (1389)
Hildegār	<i>Hildegaesdike</i> (1219)
Hōc	<i>Hokescroft, Hokeseth</i> (13th), <i>Hokislond</i> (c. 1230)
*Hodd(a)	<i>Hoddecroft</i> (1309), <i>Hoddysdole</i> (1416), <i>Ho-dewyk</i> (1366)
Hudd	<i>Huddescroft</i> (1348)
*Hund	<i>Hundeslowe</i> (13th)
*Hūnhere	<i>Hunerestocking</i> (12th)
Hūnstān	<i>Hunestanesdich</i> (1262)
*Hutt	<i>Huttesbutt</i> (1219)
Hygebeald	<i>Hibaldesle</i> (1227)
Lēofic	<i>Leuechesford</i> (13th)
Lēofmann	<i>Lefmannesyate</i> (13th)
Lēofrūn (f)	<i>Leverunhey</i> (1235)
Lēofweald	<i>Lewoldeswelle</i> (13th)
Lēofwine	<i>Leofwinesgar</i> (1012), <i>Lefwinbery</i> (13th), <i>Lewyneshegdole</i> (1301)
Lifing	<i>Lfingeshauedlond</i> (13th), <i>Levyngeshege</i> (1392)
Lihtweald	<i>Litwoldumere</i> (1406)
*Locc	<i>Lokkesgroue</i> (13th)
*Luddoc	<i>Luddokesmere</i> (1202)
Lull	<i>Lullesford</i> (Hy 3)
*Macca	<i>Maccanho</i> (1012)
Mūl	<i>Moulescroft</i> (13th)
Mussa	<i>Musseridi</i> (13th)
Passa	<i>Passelowe</i> (1392)
P(e)ada	<i>Padeworth</i> (1351)
*Prætt	<i>Pretteslane</i> (c. 1350)
Pyttel	<i>Pyteleworth</i> (1366), <i>Putlesho</i> (1247)
Rūmbeald	<i>Rumboldesbecc</i> (1012)
Sāmāer	<i>Semareswonge</i> (1252)
Sāmann	<i>Semaneshauedlond</i> (1318)
Sāweald	<i>Sewaldescroft</i> (13th)
Scot	<i>Schotteshauedlond</i> (1337)
*Seofa	<i>Seuerod</i> (13th)
Sigebeorht	<i>Syberdeshul</i> (13th)
Sigelāc	<i>Silokesmed</i> (1219)
Sigenōð	<i>Sinodeslak</i> (13th)
Sigewine	<i>Sywinesdole</i> (1226)

*Siðhūn	<i>Sithuneshegge</i> (13th)
*Tetta	<i>Tetlowe</i> (1406)
*Wændel	<i>Wendyllesbroc</i> (1463)
Wealhwine	<i>Walwynneslond</i> (13th)
Wigmund	<i>Wymundeswelle</i> (1259), <i>Wymundeswong</i> (13th), <i>Wimundeshul</i> (13th)
Wig-ræd	<i>Wirdeshale</i> (13th)
Wihthere	<i>Wyttresgore</i> (13th)
*Wilgeat	<i>Willietescroft</i> (1252)
Willoc	<i>Wylokescroft</i> (1252)
Wulphere	<i>Wolveresheye</i> (1366)
Wulfmær	<i>Wullemarescroft</i> (13th)
Wulfnōð	<i>Wolnodeswey</i> (1209), <i>Wolnothesleng</i> (1252), <i>Wlnodescroft</i> (Hy 3)
Wulfric	<i>Wlfricheswelle</i> (1202)
Wulfstān	<i>Wolstonescroft</i> (1252), <i>Ulfstonedikes</i> (1348)
Wulfweard	<i>Wulwardescroft</i> (1252)

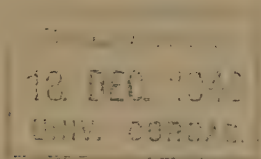
(b) *Scandinavian*

Ásbjörn	<i>Osebernestoft</i> (1313)
Ásketill	<i>crucem Anketilli</i> (13th)
Ásmundr	<i>Asmundemere</i> (1279)
Gunnhildr (f)	<i>Gunneldiscroft</i> (13th)
Gunrið (OSw)	<i>Gondridescroft</i> (1272)
Haraldr	<i>Haraldeshegges</i> (13th)
Íre	<i>Yresmere</i> (13th)
Káti	<i>Catieshege</i> (1252)
Ketill	<i>Ketelescroft</i> (1217), <i>Ketelesbrug</i> (13th)
Kippa	<i>Kyppescroft</i> (1392)
Klakkr	<i>Clackesmor</i> (13th)
Sveinn	<i>Swayneshul</i> (E 3), <i>Sueineswelle</i> (Hy 2)
Svertingr	<i>Swerthingcroft</i> (1222)
Þórketill	<i>Thurkillislond</i> (1219)
Þýri (f)	<i>Thyrethorn</i> (1292)
Tóki	<i>Tokieshegge</i> (13th)
Tóli	<i>Tholeshey</i> (1230)
Wigot (ODan)	<i>Wygodeswey</i> (13th)
Ǫgmundr	<i>crucem Agmundi</i> (13th)

(c) *Continental*

Durand	<i>Durandescroft</i> (13th)
Everard	<i>Everadesfeld</i> (1367)
Fulk	<i>Fulkescroft</i> (13th)

Gerard	<i>Gerardesholm</i> (1244)
Gilbert	<i>Gilbertesdolle</i> (1240)
Hunfrid	<i>le Hunfriesgore</i> (1307)
Ilger	<i>Ylgerisfeld</i> (1326)
Lambert	<i>Lamberdesmer</i> (1284)
Otelin	<i>Otelynescroft</i> (13th)
Rainald	<i>Reynodlescroft</i> (1397)
Roger	<i>Rogereslond</i> (13th), <i>Rogeresholm</i> (1299)



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